INTER-REGIONAL LINKAGES IN NORTH WEST INDIA DURING EARLY MUGHALS

A Thesis submitted to the School of Social Sciences
in candidacy for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ALI AHMAD

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067, INDIA

1987

Centre for the Study of Regional Development
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi

Certified that the thesis entitled "Inter-Regional Linkages in North West India During Early Mughals", submitted by Ali Ahmad for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is a bonafide work to the best of my knowledge and may be placed before the examiners for their consideration.

Dated 14.3.87

(MOONIS RAZA)
SUPERVISOR

Dated 18.3.1987

CHAIRMAN

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to my learned, inspiring and loving teacher Professor Moonis Raza, who provided me the opportunity to work with him on this fascinating topic. His philosophical bent of mind, incredible memory, facination for history, art and culture, liberal and critical attitude, quest for the new and the unknown has made him a remarkable historical geographer. He developed the field of Mughal Historical Geography in the company of great scholars like Professor Nurul Hasan and Dr (Mrs) K.L. Hasan, when all of them were at the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. The influence of Professor Moonis Raza initially reached indirectly to me through my learned teacher Professor Aijazuddin Ahmad, who taught me the basics of historical geography in a very fascinating way. Later on, I was trained by Professor Raza, when I joined him on a research project at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

It is rather difficult for me to thank Dr Atiya Habeeb, whose contribution in the completion of this work is immense. It was due to her affection and direction that I could finish this unending work. I could come out of the 'Chakraveu' in which I was trapped, mainly due to her efforts. Her thesis on "Chracteristics and Processes of Urbanization in Colonial India - A Case Study of Calcutta and its Hinterland (1850-1921)", an excellent work on the colonial historical geography, guided me throughout the completion of this work. Her critical comments and suggestions made this thesis presentable.

I feel it necessary to express my gratefulness towards my late uncle, Professor Abdul Mujeeb, who by his dignified and scholarly ways, liberal views, honestly and truthfulness attracted me towards academics. Thanks are also due to my loving and lovable teacher (late) Professor Mohammad Anas, whose charming personality, undisputed command over geography, immense capacity to explain difficult problems in simple but effective manner, his sincerity and affection made him an ideal teacher. He developed in me great self confidence.

I would like to thank Professor R.C. Sharma, Dr Habeeb-ur-Rehman Kidwai, Professor Shafiq Naqvi and Professor M. Waseem, for their personal interest in me and my work. My association with them provided me the required strength to complete this long and seemingly unending work.

My thanks are also due to Professor Irfan Habib, Dr Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, Dr Jamal Uddin and Ms. Madhu Tandon, who always encouraged me to pursue this work. Their dedication and knowledge of history gave me some insight into the psyche of historians. Their critical approach, however, made my task even more difficult. Among the historians I am specially thankful to my friend Dr Muzaffar Alam, who not only gave some useful suggestions but also helped by making some corrections in the historical section of the thesis.

I would like to thank, Professor P. Dayal, Professor R.K. Rai, Dr R. Gopalakrishnan, Dr A.C. Mohapatra, Mr P.G. Momin, Mr B.S. Butola, Mr D.K. Naik and Mr P.S. Mipun and

other colleagues and friends in the Department of Geography, North Hill University, Shillong, for patiently tolerating my extra involvement in this study. Thanks are also due to my other friends at NEHU, Shillong - Dr Nikhlesh Kumar, Dr R.V. Vyas, Dr M.K. Mahanti and Dr Pramod Tandon, for the moral support they extended to me during the completion of this work.

My thanks are due to Mr Gabar Singh for speeding typing of the final script and Mr A.K. Talwar for doing the earlier drafts, Mr O.D. Tyagi, Mr R.K. Sharma and Ms J. Pynegrope for the preparation of final maps.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, sister and wife, Shabana, who were neglected the most during the completion of this work.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ain	Ain-i-Akbari
AN	Akbar Nama
BN	Babar Nama
Gates	The Gates of India
T.J.	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
TR	Tarikh-i-Rashidi
Masumi	Tarikh-i-Sind or Tarikh-i-Masumi
Bayazid	Tazkira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar
Jauhar	Tazkirat al-Wakiat

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Scope and Objective

1.2 Survey of Literature

1.3 The Region

1.4 The Period

1.5 The Sources

1.6 Organization of the Study

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 SCOPE AND OBJECTIVE

An attempt has been made in the present study to provide an insight into the changing (strengthening or weakening) links within the North-West India, and between it and the neighbouring regions and countries during the period of the Early Mughals. This long period and the vast region has been selected to observe and assess the factors which have been crucial in bringing about spatio-temporal changes in the regional linkages. Instead of simply identifying, plotting and describing the routes (which of course is the main endeavour in this study) an attempt has been made to assess their role in the establishment of regional linkages. An attempt has also been made to analyse the role of physical, economic, social, political and technological factors in the emergence of various regions and the development of regional linkages. Before discussing the scope and objective of this study it seems pertinent to discuss in brief, the relevant concepts and the reasons behind the selection of the vast canvas for this study.

For a better understanding of the structure of this study it is necessary to emphasize the relationship between history and geography. It was the great philosopher Imma-

nuel Kant, who perhaps for the first time realized the strong and very special relationship between history and geography. According to him both history and geography are desciplines involved in describing phenomena, in time and space, respectively. But unfortunately neither historians nor geographers could, until quite recently, appreciate the potential of their desciplines. Instead of studying temporal variation of historical events, historians have kept themselves busy only in the study of political history and geographers have only been concerned with physical phenomena.

The situation changed considerably, after the introduction and establishment of human studies in geography and social and economic studies in history during the last fifty years. Geographers tried to redefine the scope and objective of geography and its relationship with history. They found the definition of geography by Kant as not fully acceptable as it was not possible for them to understand and explain the spatial variation of the phenomena without knowing any thing about its evolution. Their need to understand the temporal change in some of the phenomena gave rise not only to the studies of evolution of the individual phenomenon in geography but also to the development of historical geography.

Before discussing the scope of historical geography it is necessary to mention some thing about two other dis-

ciplines where history and geography have come very close to one another. Firstly, there is history of geography which deals with the evolution of geography as a subject. The other is known as geography of history in which those geographical factor are identified and described which have been responsible in the evolution of the history of a region. The geographers considered the history of geography as one of the most significant branches of geography while historians found it necessary to discuss the geographical (physical) setting of the region before writing its history. Though both of these branches of history and geography developed quite early, they rarely helped in establishing a close relationship between these two subjects.

The real unification of history and geography came only with the emergence of historical geography, which is defined as the study of the spatial variation of phenomena in time. Historical geography combines history and geography, the only branches of knowledge which are concerned with all phenomena (all other branches of knowledge are concerned only with one phenomenon), since every phenomena exists in time and occupied some space on the surface of the earth. There is no doubt that in order to understand reality phenomena should be studied both in time and space. This is, however, not easy since the required historical information is not always available.

Historical geography has sometimes been defined as the geography of the past. This definition is not incorr-

ect but it certainly reduces the scope of the understanding of the evolution of phenomena in time, which is not possible without a comparision with any other point of time. Though the significance and importance of the geography of any past period can not be denied, it is however desirable to study the spatial variation of phenomena either by taking a longer period of time or by selecting two or more points of time of historical significance.

It should be emphasized here that historical geography, unlike other branches of geography, is not a branch of geography but it is geography complete in itself. Theoretically speaking, it is possible to write down the geographies of any number of past periods. For example it is possible, write down the physical, social, economic and political geography of India during the reigns of Ashoka or Akbar. However, the gap between theory and practice in historical geography is immense.

Conceptually the present study, besides being an exercise in historical geography, is also a regional study employing the holistic approach in geography. Humboldt and Ritter, two great German geographers, realised the need and importance of the study of inter-relationships and inter-dependence of the phenomena in geography as early as the first half of the nineteenth century. According to them phenomena could not and should not be studied in isolation. They believed in the "Unity of Nature". Their massage re-

ached the geographers but about a hundred years after their death. However geographers soon realized, and correctly so, that instead of studying individual phenomena geographers should study the phenomena in relation to one another and in relation to the surface of the earth. This is the holistic approach of geography.

Like historical geography, the holistic approach in geography also presented many methodological problems to its students. For instance, it is not easy to understand the real nature of the inter-relationship and inter-dependence of the phenomena without sufficient knowledge of these phenomena. Moreover an assessment and analysis of the role of space in the distribution pattern of the phenomena requires a comprehensive understanding of the area under investigation. But this is real geography.

Geographers have successfully tried the holistic approach by taking smaller regions as areas of their study. There are some really good regional geographies where the inter-relationship and inter-dependence of the phenomena have been studied in relation to space remarkably well, thus providing a complete and authentic picture of the region.

The main objectives of this study hence are

i) to understand the regional structure of North-West India during a long and historically significant period by identifying and describing the structure

of different types of regions,

ii) to assess and analyse the influence and impact of various factors on the regional linkages during the period under study,

iii) to identify, plot and critically describe all the available travel accounts of the period in order to understand the spatio-temporal variations of the routes of North-West India during the period under study.

1.2 SURVEY OF LITERATURE

Unfortunately very little work has been done in India in the field of historical geography, perhaps due to the nature of the subject. The paucity of the relevant historical source material, which can be used for the reconstruction of the geography of the past periods, is usually given as the reason for lack of interest in the field both by historians and geographers. There is some truth in it but perhaps a more important reason for this lack is not the absence of contemporary sources but a want of training in the techniques, tools and source materials of historical geography.

In the reconstruction of the geography of any past period, historians, usually find it difficult to visualize the real significance of space. They even find it difficult to identify and plot the phenomena of geographical

significance. The plotting of maps, both mental and on paper, is perhaps the most difficult job for them while writing historical geography. This weakness is even apparent in the works of some of the renowned historians. The geographers on the other hand, lack historical knowledge of the past periods and of the contemporary sources and hence find it difficult to research in historical geography. For them the past is alien territory. This attitude is mainly due to the fact that human studies in geography started very late and one can still find a large number of traditional geographers, who may prefer to study the evolution of dead land forms rather than devote attention to the understanding of the evolution of any socially relevant phenomena. This is unfortunate.

The situation is not, however, hopeless. During the last twenty-five years or so, some significant change has come in the attitude of both historians and geographers as they have produced some really useful works in the field of historical geography. For the Mughal period the most significant work was conceptualized at A.M.U. Aligarh by Prof. Nurul Hasan, Prof. Moonis Raza and Dr (Mrs) K.L. Hasan, who initiated the grand work for the delineation of the political-administrative boundaries of the Mughal Empire on the basis of <u>Ain-i-Akbari.</u> Many maps were prepared and presented in the History Congress. But due to the unfortunate and early death of Dr (Mrs) K.L. Hasan and the demand of the

other scholars out side Aligarh, the work could not be completed. However, it attracted the attention of many historians and geographers. Prof. Irfan Habib prepared, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire (1982) which is of immense value to the students of history and geography. Prof Aijaz-uddin Ahmad, wrote numerous articles on the different aspects of the Mughal historical geography. Prof Moonis Raza, apart from writing articles on the various themes of historical geography, prepared a detailed, Atlas of Akbar's Suba of Kabul. This atlas provides, maps and detailed notes on every aspect of the geography of the suba. (I assisted Prof. Moonis Raza in this project). Prof J.E. Schwartzberg, in the meanwhile has published a well designed and well documented, A Historical Atlas of South Asia (1978) and Susan Gole came out with her useful compilation of Early Maps of India.

Some other works on historical geography which helped and influenced the present study, are Alexander Cunningham's, Ancient Geography of India (1871); Muzaffar Ali's, The Geography of Puranas; M.R. Haig's, Indus Delta Country (1887); Thomas Holdich's, The Gates of India (1910); and James Rannell's, Atlas and Memoir. These books not only provided much required information about some regions of historical significance but also helped in the identification of many places referred to in the contemporary sources.

Some basic history books, which were found very useful in the understanding of contemporary social, economic and

political conditions of the period are, K.M. Ashraf's, Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan (1959); Irfan Habib's, Agrarian System of Mughal India (1963); W.H. Moreland's From Akbar to Aurangzeb a Study in Indian Economic History (1923); H.K. Naqvi's Urbanization and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals (1972); and R.P. Tripathi's Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire (1972).

Some of the above mentioned books, were the pioneering studies in economic, social and political histories of the Mughal period and for the first time provide the history of the common people rather than only glorify the rulers. These studies also gave birth to genuine studies in economic and social history of India. The studies in Economic history of India, made it necessary for historians to devote some time to the study of the trade and transport links between India and various other countries.

Attempts were also made to understand the condition of the roads as well as of travel and transport during the Mughal period. The most significant of these attempts is the book by A.K.M. Farooque entitled Roads and Communications in Mughal India (1977). Farooque, tried to study the general conditions of the road and communications during the Mughal period without co-relating it with socio-economic and political condition of this long period. Though the work is good in its own field but seems to lead us nowhere. Scholars also tried to reconstruct routes linking various regions but perhaps the most detailed study was made by

H.C. Verma in his book, Medieval Routes to India: Baghdad to Delhi (1978). The book deals basically with the pre-Mughal period and a lot of information about the routes has been given. But unfortunately this information is rather disorganised. The main weakness of this otherwise well documented book, however, is the near absence route maps made to scale of the period under study. The description of a route without a map creates many problems and solves very few. However, these studies show the interest of the historians in the studies of roads and routes.

Keeping in view the inadequacy of earlier studies an attempt has been made here to reconstruct the route-maps of the Early Mughal period in one of the most crucial regions of India. These route maps will provide much desired knowledge of the actual routes, as described by the people who travelled on them at different points of time during the period under study. These routes have also not been studied in isolations but have been related to other socio-economic phenomena operated in the region.

1.3 THE REGION

The delineation of the North-West India during the period under study is not an easy job as the boundaries of India were changing frequently through out this period. From the times of Babar's conquest of the Kabul region in 1504 to Jahangir's death in 1627, the concept of India in

general and what is known as its north-west in particular has changed considerably. This constant change in the boundaries made it necessary for us to identify the areas/ regions which in various phases of the early Mughal history fell into the domain of this study.

At the time of Babar's conquest of the Kabul region (1504) the whole North-West India excepting the Punjab region was out side the Empire of Delhi Sultan. Babar defeated Ibrahim Lodi in 1526, to establish Mughal rule in India and with this conquest Kabul became a part of India. After the defeat of Humayun by Sher Shah in 1540, though Kabul and Qandahar remained with the Mughals, but were outside the domain of the kings of Hindustan. When Humayun came to India in 1554 as the conquerer, Kabul was in his possession and remained with the Mughals (but not necessarily under the direct rule of the Mughal King of Hindustan) throughout the period under study. Effective consolidation of North-West India started only after the death of Akbar's brother Mirza Hakim in 1585. The Kabul, which was in the charge of Mirza Hakim, was annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1585, Kashmir in 1589, Sind or the Thatta region in 1591 and Qandahar and Baluchistan in 1595. The boundaries of North-West India reached its maximum extent in 1595 and remained so for more than 25 years.

It seems proper to delineate the boundaries of North-West India on the basis of Ain-i-Akbari, which provides

sufficient information regarding the extent and boundaries of the Subas and Sarkars of Hindustan during the times of Akbar. Thus, by taking 1595 as the base-year for delineating the boundaries of North-West India we find that the region consisted of the subas of Kabul, Lahor and Multan. Though, it seems incorrect to include Sind or the Thatta region in North-West India, but apart from administrative reasons there is some geographical justification to include it in this study. The varied region lying between Kashmir to Lari Bandar and Hindu Kush to Sutlej and beyond, belongs to one river basin, that of the Indus. Thus to include the Sind region in this study, geographically also is justified.

The North West India, during the Early Mughals hence synchronized with the Indus river basin, excluding the areas lying north and east of the Kashmir, which were never conquered by the Mughal kings of India. Apart from the Indus basin, Qandahar which lies outside the Indus basin, has also been included in the area under study, as it became a sarkar of suba of Kabul during the times of Akbar. Moreover, the Qandahar region played a significant role in the socio-cultural and economic development of the region during the period under study.

North-West India was perhaps the most important region of the country not only during the period under study but since the earliest times. The whole history of India, political, socio-cultural and even economic, had always been greatly influenced by the political developments in its

North-West, prior to the conquest of the country by the Europeans, who came by sea routes. The impact of socio-cultural development taking place in Central Asia, Persia and West Asia reached India through its North West.

The trans-continental communication system of Asia and Europe, connecting China with West Asia and Europe leaves India alone - but not altogether. The main route passed across to Hindu Kush and Pamirs through the valleys of Syr-Darya and Amu Derya and then from the shores of Caspian and Azerbaizen to Western Asia. There was, however, a feeder route, along the Kabul Valley, connecting India. That is why Subbarao considers it justified to treat the Indus Basin as a peripheral region of the ancient Cradle of civilization in Western Asia. It will not be incorrect to say that prior to the emergence of Europeans on the scene what ever impact of nomadic out burst reached India, reached through its north west. It made this region more dynamic culturally but less stable politically.

The first great civilization of the sub-continent developed in the Indus Valley. This civilization had trading contacts with Sumeria and possibly with other great civilizations of the time. The impact of nomadic Aryans was also vigorously felt in this region. When from Indus Valley Aryans migrated to Gangetic plains, they were no more nomads.

In 326 B.C. Alexander the Great, after defeating various Punjab princes, reached his farthest east on the

Beas. Infact, Alexander's raid was into the Indian satrapies of Persian King. The satrapies formed along the Indus, however, was ceded by Alexander's successor Selecus Nikator to Chandragupta Maurya. It was Vinder Chandragupta's grandson, Asoka, the Mauryan Empire stretched from the Hindu Kush to Brahmaputra and well beyond the Krishna to the Penner.

Around the beginning of the Christian era renewed incursions from the north-west were made by Sakas, Parthians, the Yueh Chi or Kushans. Sakas in the first century B.C. descended on India, through the Bolan Pass and occupied Sind. However, they were expelled in 57 B.C. Though the Sakas were driven off, the Yueh Chi who had settled down in the valleys of Hindu Kush began to make their power felt in India. Under Kanishka, their empire extended to Mathura.

The Huns, who overturned many established societies in Europe, had little success in India though their pressure was continuously felt in this region for over two centuries. After the Huns the next serious invasion was that of Muhammad Bin Qasim on Sind under the orders of the Khalif of Baghdad in 712. The Arabs attempted to penetrate into Rajasthan from the land side but failed. Thus the impact of their conquest remained limited to the Sind region.

Mahmud Ghazni, son of Subuktigin who was a Turkish slave, conducted at least seventeen plundering raids (generally via Bannu and Isakhail region) on India between 1000 and 1030. He added North-West India to his empire and enriched his treasury by looting wealthy temples of Mathura

and Somnath (Kathiawad).

The conquest of the Gangentic Valley, following the invasion of Mohammad Ghori, by Kutubuddin starts a new chapter in Indian history. By dynastic accident the Afghan-Punjab relationship was broken in 1206 and the Sultanate of Delhi took form. The Khiljis, the Tughalaks and Lodis who established their rule in India were Central Asian Turks, who settled down in India as exclusively Indian rulers with no interest outside.

Like earlier Central Asian rulers Mughals also established their supremacy in the Kabul region before establishing the Mughal Empire in India. Akbar knew the trend of the movement of earlier invaders so after solving the problems of surrounding regions, tried to block the routes of migration of the north-west by consolidating his power in the region. Thus for more than hundred years Mughals could rule the country without any disturbance from the North-West.

1.4 THE PERIOD (1504-1627)

The period of the Early Mughals was perhaps the most eventful and crucial in the annals of Indian history. It was during this period that one of the most stable and strong empire was established in India. The period saw the advent of alien Babar from Central Asia through Kabul and the establishment of an empire in India in 1526, which lasted for fifteen years, as his son Humayun was defeated

by Sher Shah. Humayun again came to power in 1554 but died soon after, leaving the empire of Hindustan in some what uncertain political conditions. Akbar re-established the Mughal Empire in India. He not only established an Empire but made it truly Indian in character. Jahangir further strengthened the empire by following the policies of Akbar.

The Mughal Empire during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir not only became politically strong but also became economically prosperous and socially integrated. The internal socio-economic stability and the strength of the army also made it possible for the Mughals to establish friendly relations with the neighbouring countries. Some of the most significant developments which made this period most crucial and remarkable may be summed up as follows.

Akbar started the work of consolidating the empire from the very beginning of his reign. However it was only after 1585 that he could annex most of the regions of North-West India to the Mughal Empire. The Kabul region, which had earlier remained more or less independent of the kings of Hindustan, under younger Mughal princes, was permanently included in the Mughal Empire in 1585. Kashmir was formally conquered in 1589, while Sind was annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1591. After the conquest of Qandahar and Baluchistan in 1595 the boundaries of North West India reached its maximum extent.

With the consolidation of the Mughal Empire in India, the economy of the country improved considerably. The poli-

tical stability provided by the Mughal administration gave required incentive to people to produce more as the new avenues were opened for trade and commercial activities. During this period many new areas came under cultivation, perhaps, with the encouragement of the government. The agricultural production increased due to a more reasonable revenue system. The manufacturing industries benefitted more than agriculture from the political stability in the country and friendly relations with the neighbours. Though there is a difference of opinion among the historians on the extent of the development of industries but certainly during this period India became a pre-eminent exporter of manufactured goods, though her technology was remarkably backward in comparision with other advanced civilizations of the period especially China and Western Europe. The higher production, political stability, friendly relations with neighbours, and socio-cultural integration in the country, increased the volume of trade and commercial activities and further strengthened the economy of the country.

It was during this period that the whole socio-cultural atmosphere of the country changed by the liberal policies of Akbar and Jahangir. The social integration in the country was mainly the result of Akbar's deep rooted secular policies. He established his image of a king above all the sectarian considerations. Akbar not only established permanent ties with the Rajputs but he also tried to promote greater understanding among all the communities of

the country. He abolished the jizyah on Hindus. The pilgrim tax on bathing at holy places such as Prayag and Banaras, was also abolished and the practice of forcibly converting prisoners of war to Islam was put to an end. This obviously strengthened the foundations of the empire as it was based on equal rights to all citizen, irrespective of their religious beliefs. Akbar's open and inquistive mind gave rise to an outbwest of many sided cultural activity in India. The traditions in the field of architecture, painting, literature and music created during the period of Akbar and Jahangir, deeply influenced the later generations. Thus, during this period conditions in the country were perfect for socio-cultural interaction among the people belonging to different regions, religions, linguistic groups, castes creeds etc.

An attempt was also made by Akbar and Jahangir to develop friendly relations with the neighbouring countries. However, these relations with the neighbours developed only after they realized the strength of Mughals in India. The Mughals were treated with respect by their arch rival Uzbeks, after the establishment of a powerful Mughal Empire in India. The same is true in case of Persia. The relation between Mughals and Uzbeks were further strengthened when the Mughals lost all the interest in their traditional home land, which was then under the control of Uzbeks, after the death of Humayun. Between India and Persia, Qandahar was the only becone of contention. During the reign of Akbar

and Jahangir, Mughals found it desirable to possess the stratigically located Qandahar, on which Persians also had claims. It is interesting to observe that both India and Persia were interested in Qandahar but not at the cost of their friendly relations with one another. In fact, Qandahar changed hands during the period under study frequently but without much blood-shed. It seems they realized that close and friendly relations were necessary for their development of trade and commercial activities between their countries.

Thus it will not be incorrect to say that the period of the Early Mughals was one of the most glorious periods of Indian history. It was during this period that India became one of the most advanced and prosperous countries of the world.

1.5 THE SOURCES

This study, like other works in Historical Geography is mainly based on the contemporary chronicles. However, to supplement and critically examine the information of these chronicles, some basic historical and geographical books have also been used, maps of later periods have also been used. It seems relevant to discuss here in brief the utility and significance of the main chronicles used as the basic source material for this study.

The importance of Babar's autobiography, the Babar

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Nama, as a source material for the present study is immense. Babar, who is considered as one of the most illustrious princes ever to sit upon a throne in Asia, apart from qualities of a statesman and general, had a lively good sense and enquiring mind. There was no aspect of art or nature, as revealed to the man of action of that day, that escaped the activity of his research. The accuracy and clearness of Babar's geographical description are so arresting that even today no better general introduction can be sought to unravel the tangled territories lying between the plains of the Oxus and the Indus, where he wandered for more than 20 years. He seems to have noticed everything, the flowers, the trees, the birds, the harsh hills and beautiful river valleys, the bright skies, the rain and snow and tempests, the names of men and tribes. Babar's description of the regions through which he passed, is so comprehensive that it helped in providing a complete geographical understanding of otherwise little known regions.

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The utility of Abul Fazl's monumental works, Akbar Nama and Ain-i-Akbari, as a source material for this study has also been immense. Ain-i-Akbari, like Akbar Nama, was compiled by the great scholar, on the orders of his patron, Emporer Akbar. Abul Fazl, took many years to prepare Ain, which was formally completed in 1595. The geographical portion of the work (The Account of the Twelve Subas) was brought up to date in Akbar's 40th regnal year (1595-96).

The Ain offers a detailed description of every suba, its limits, rivers, mountains, mines, major towns, crafts products, chiefs and revenues. Statistical tables then follow. The tables contain full lists of the mahals/parganas or tumans, under each sarkar (division) of the suba. Entries are provided against each mahal for forts, measured area, estimated revenues, revenue alienated through grants, castes, tribes/clans, of the local dominant class (Zamindars, bumis) and number of their retainers (horse and foot). However, in case of some of the newly conquered territories of North-West India, like Thatta, Qandahar, Pakli, Swad and Baluchistan, many of these informations have not been given.

Apart from compiling the encyclopedia of the Mughal Empire, the Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl wrote the monumental Akbar Nama, which is not only a detailed history of Akbar's time but also provides sufficiently good account of the periods of Babar and Humayun. Akbar Nama, contains very useful account of the important political events of the period and also describes some of Akbar's journies in North-West India in minute details. With the help of these descriptions it has been possible to reconstruct maps of various routes. Abul Fazl, also tried to describe the journies of Humayun from India to Persia, from Persia to Qandahar and Kabul and from Kabul to Balkh and Badakhshan etc. The geographical description of those regions and routes in Akbar Nama, is detailed and fairly accurate because Abul Fazl visited them with the king.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, the autobiography of Jahangir, provide a lively picture of India and is a supplement to Akbar Nama. According to some scholars, Jahangir's Memoirs' are not inferior in interest even to those of Babar. As a lover of nature, Jahangir provides a detailed description of the regions and the routes through which he passed. In this study, his journies to Kashmir and Kabul, which he described in detail have been plotted and discussed. Like Babar Nama, Ain-i-Akbari, Akbar Nama, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri has been used to reconstruct the socio-economic and political conditions of the period under study.

In the best of the Mughal tradition, Babar's cousin, Mirza Haider Dughlat also wrote his autobiography which is known as Tarikh-i-Rashidi. For its historical narrative, it is considered better than any of the contemporary books. Though Mirza Haidar's geographical knowledge and understanding of the mountainous regions of Central Asia and surrounding territories seems to be remarkable, he did not describe the routes of North-West India in detail. In this study, however, two routes linking the Kashmir Valley with surrounding territories have been reconstructed on the basis of Tarikh-i-Rashidi.

Apart from these major sources, many other contemporary books were also consulted and a few of them were found suitable to be used to reconstruct the route maps. Akbar, in fact, asked some people to write the historical account of the period when Humayun was in exile. Thus we have the

accounts of Jauhar Aftabchi, Gulbadan Begum and Bayazid. Jauhar Aftabchi, one of Humayun's ewer-bearer, (valet) companion and intimate servant, and who accompanied Humayun to Persia, provides useful information of his journies in his memoirs, Tazkirat-ul Waqiat. Humayun's sister, Gulbadan Begum was requested by Akbar to note down what ever she knew about the doings of her father Babar and her brother Humayun. She provides some interesting information for the period between Humayun's exile from India to his recapturing Delhi. However, the maps based on the description of Humayun's journey from India to Persia by Jauhar and Gulbadan Begum have not been included in this study as the king did not follow the normally trespassed route due to political pressures.

Masum Bhakkari's, Tarikh-i-Masumi, has also been used for the reconstruction of a map. Masum's description of Khan-i-Khanan's expedition to Sind (Thatta region) in which he also participated is quite detailed to be used as basic source material for the reconstruction of the route-map. Masum Bhakkari also provides good geographical description of the Sind region.

Apart from the above sources, travel accounts of European travellers and traders have also been used in this study as main sources. The account of Nicholas Withington and William Finch are useful, for they not only provide detailed description of the routes on which they travelled but also throw light on the real problems of the journey

for the common people (which the Europeans were at that time) during the times of Jahangir.

In order to understand the geography and history of the various regions of the North-West India various books, journals, gazetteers and maps have also been consulted which were mentioned in the bibliography. The general books on India, Pakistan and Afghanistan were not sufficient to provide the information required to verify that given in the contemporary sources, hence texts on the regional geography and history of the region were consulted in large number.

For the identification of places, mountain ranges, rivers, tribes and other geographical features a lot of effort has been made and much time has been wasted. The reconstruction of the route maps, in the absence of detailed maps of most of the region (due to political and strategic reasons) was found to be really difficult. However, with the help of gazetteers, district hand-books, atlases, maps prepared during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and travel accounts of later travellers, the work of identification has been done with significant success.

1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

In this chapter an attempt has been made to assess the need and relevance of the present study. The scope and objective of the study has also been discussed. To empha-

size the absence of authentic studies on the nature of inter-regional linkages in India during the period of the Early Mughals, a brief survey of existing literature has been made. After delineating the boundaries of North-West India, an attempt has been made to highlight the significance of this region during the times of the Early Mughals. The role of North-West in the evolution of socio-political and economic history of India has also been discussed in brief. After defining the period of the Early Mughals, its relevance and importance in the annals of Indian history has been assessed. Finally, relative significance of the various chronicles, which have been used as the basic source material has also been discussed.

In Chapter II, the spatial structure of the region has been discussed in detail in order to understand the inter-relationship and inter-dependence of various phenomena, within the various regions of North-West India. Various aspects of the region's spatial structure, viz. physical, socio-economic and politico-administrative, which directly influenced inter-regional linkages have been identified. In the first section of the chapter, the whole region has been divided into physiographic regions and sub-regions and the significant physiographic features of these regions have been discussed. While doing so, an attempt has also been made to identify regions with suitable physical conditions for economic development.

In the second section, North-West India and its sur-

rounding territories have been divided into three major cultural regions; the areas of attraction, the areas of relative isolation and the areas of isolation. This division emerged due to the process of cultural evolution within these regions. While discussing this cultural evolution within these regions an attempt has also been made to highlight the influence of physical and economic factors in the emergence of these regions. In this section, the distribution of the tribal groups have been outlined and the distinct tribal homelands in the areas of isolation have also been identified.

In the third section of the chapter the whole region has been divided into Political-Administrative divisions. This division has been done mainly on the basis of Ain-i-Akbari. During the times of Akbar, North-West India consisted of three subas, viz., Kabul, Lahor and Multan. Each suba was divided into sarkars and each sarkar into parganas/ mahals or tumans. While discussing the extent and boundaries of the subas, sarkars and tumans an attempt has been made to analyse the impact of physical and cultural phenomena in the emergence of these political-administrative regions. Finally between inter-relationship and inter-dependence, physical, cultural (socio-economic) and political phenomena has been established.

In Chapter III linkages have been analysed as regional imperatives. As the volume and nature of the flow of goods and services and movement of people depends upon the factors like the economic base, physical structure of the

region, contemporary political conditions and level of technology, was found necessary to study these factors in some detail. The chapter has been divided into three major sections. In the first section, the bases of the regional linkages have been discussed. The significant features of the economic base of whole region have been identified and an attempt has been made to highlight the regional variations in economic development which might have lead to the flow of goods and services from one region to another. Secondly, these changes in the political conditions of the period have been discussed which could have been responsible in strengthening or weakning the inter-regional linkages during the period under study. Finally, the prevailing social conditions during the period have been discussed to provide an understanding of the impact of growing social integration and cultural synthesis among the people of the country in general and of the region in particular.

In the second section of this chapter, physical determinants of the regional linkages have been discussed. An attempt has been made to identify and locate the popular and known mountain passes of the region. With the help of the contemporary sources, the relative significance of these passes has been established. Like the passes in the mountainous region, the river fords in the plain regions have determined the flow of traffic and so river fords have also been identified with the help of the contemporary source. An attempt has been made to observe seasonal varia-

tion in the use of mountain passes and the river-fords.

In the last section of the chapter, technological determinents of regional linkages have been discussed; firstly with the help of contemporary sources, the location of the bridges have been plotted. An attempt has also been made to classify the bridges of the region into various categories on the basis of the technology and material used in the making of these bridges. The technology of the construction and the maintenance of roads, during the period under study has also been discussed. Means of land and water transport have also been discussed as they also determined the volume of trade and extent of communication in the region. This provides the back drop for the analysis of the possible regional linkages which must have determined the level of interaction among the various regions of North-West India.

In Chapter IV, on the basis of the description of the travels in the contemporary sources, the route maps have been reconstructed. Each route, has been identified, plotted and described after arranging the travel accounts chronologically. This became necessary when more than one description of a particular route is available. While describing these routes an attempt has been made to highlight the historical, socio-economic and strategical significance of the route. Alternative routes, between two regions have also been suggested and their advantages and problems have also been mentioned.

After all the possible route maps of the period under study were plotted, they were classified into four broad categories. In the first section the routes linking North-West India with the surrounding territories have been discussed. While describing these routes, an attempt has been made to highlight the changing socio-political conditions of North West India and of the surrounding territories as most of the expedition on these routes have been made at the time of the changing fortunes of these regions.

The routes linking various regions of North West India have been divided into three categories; the routes of the first order, the routes of the second order and the routes of the third order. This ordering has been done on the basis of the significance of these routes. The routes which connected areas of attraction, without passing through negative areas, have been identified as the routes of first order. While describing these routes an attempt has been made to highlight the problems of travel on these routes and the role of the Mughal administration in making them safe for travel. The most important route i.e. the Agra/Delhi-Lahor-Kabul, has been discussed after making the route maps in sectors. The routes of second order linked the areas of relative isolation (generally newly conquered territories) with the areas of attraction and while describing them an attempt has been made to highlight the efforts which the Mughals made in developing these routes. The routes of the third order linked two areas of relative isolation and passed through negative areas and were really

difficult to traverse. While describing them, the difficulties of travel have been assessed. The relative significance of various routes has also been established.

CHAPTER II

SPATIAL STRUCTURE

2.1 Physiography and Physical Regions

2.1.1 Indus River Basin

2.1.2 Hilmand-Arghandab River Basin

2.2 Cultural Regions and Distribution of Tribes

2.2.1 Areas of Attraction

2.2.2 Areas of Relative Isolation

2.2.3 Areas of Isolation

2.2.4 Distribution of Tribes

2.3 Political Administrative Divisions

2.3.1 Suba of Kabul

2.3.2 Suba of Lahor

2.3.3 Suba of Multan

2.4 Conclusions

CHAPTER II

SPATIAL STRUCTURE

The evolution and pattern of inter-regional linkages can not be understood without analysing the spatial structure of the region under consideration, the spatial variations that characterize them and disparateness in the levels of their relative development. The different aspects of a region's spatial structure which directly influence inter-regional linkages and which need to be studied are physical, socio-economic and politico-administrative. These determine both the qualitative and the quantitative attributes of these interactions. In this chapter we shall attempt to analyse the salient features of the spatial structure of North-West India and would highlight those factors which were crucial in determining the type and level of inter-regional interaction that took place in this region during the times of the Early Mughals.

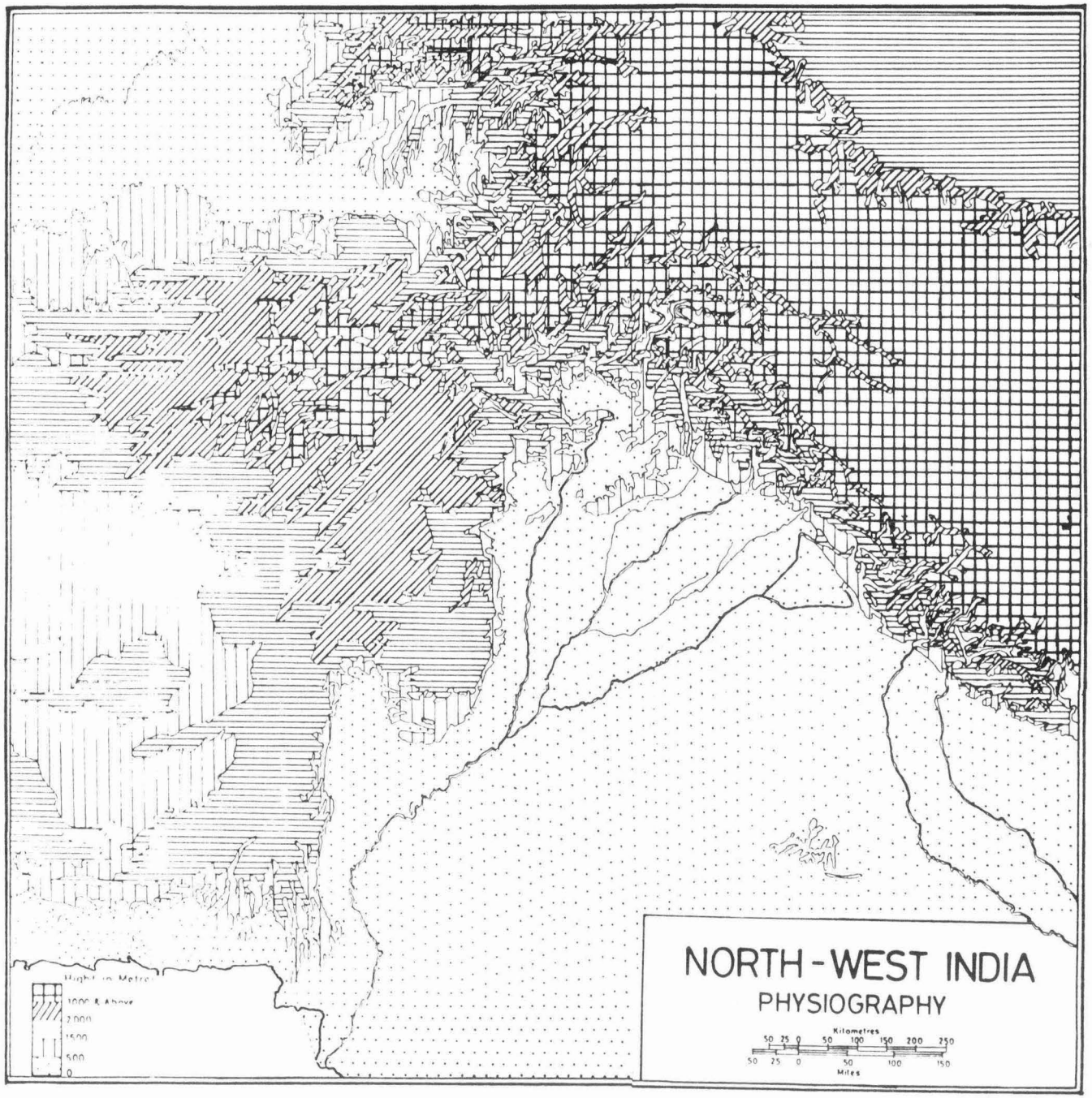
The North-West India, during the times of the Early Mughals, with an estimated area of about 262,661 miles was large enough to have significant regional variations. Physically speaking this region, due to its extent and location has all possible physical and climatic variations. The region includes in its boundaries; parts of Himalayas, the highest mountain in the world; the valley of Kashmir, one of the most beautiful river valleys of the world; fertile plains

of Punjab; and some of the driest and hottest regions of the world.(See Map 2.1)

The impact of physical conditions and variations over man, during the medieval period, can not be denied. The impact of the physical environment may be found on each aspect of human life, economic, social and political. Unfortunately, the type of data required for the identification and delineation of economic regions is not available for the period under study. The same is also true for the data and information about the distribution and interaction of the social groups. However, it is evident that there was a significant regional variation in the social and economic structure within this region.

Politically speaking, the North-West India, during the period under study has been one of the most disturbed areas of the country. It was only towards the end of the 16th century that Akbar could establish his mastery over the whole of this region, which resulted in the political and administrative stability within this region. This region like other parts of the country, had also been divided into hierarchical administrative divisions.

The distribution of physical, social, economic and political phenomena can not and should not be studied in isolation, as these are interrelated and interdependent. Thus, in this chapter an attempt has been made not only to study the spatial variation of physical, cultural (socio-economic) and political phenomena but to analyse the inter-


Height in Metres
1000 & Above
2000
1500
500
0
NORTH - WEST INDIA
PHYSIOGRAPHY
Kilometres
50 25 0 50 100 150 200 250
50 25 0 50 100 150
Miles

Map 2.1

relationship and interdependence between them.

The chapter has been divided into three sections. In the first section an attempt has been made to understand the major physiographic feature of this vast region and for this the whole region has been divided into two major river basins i.e., the Indus and the Helmand - Arghandab river basins. In fact the whole North-West India was lying in the Indus River Basin, excepting the Sarkar of Qandahar, which was a part of Helmand-Arghandab River Basin. Both of these river basins have been sub-divided into various Physiographic Regions to understand the regional structure reasonably. While discussing the physiographic divisions and sub-divisions an attempt has been made to identify physically suited areas for socio-cultural interaction and economic development.

In the second section of the chapter, an attempt has been made to divide the whole region into cultural regions in terms of the areas of attraction, or perennial nuclear regions; the areas of isolation or culs-de-sac and areas of relative isolation. These terms are suggestive of the role of both physicography and cultural lineaments in the evolution and persistence of cultural regions through the process of edogemous development and diffusion of culturers. The relationship between the economic base of a region and the process of cultural evolution and diffusion is quite obvious since culture is a super-structure on the structure of the economy. Thus economically prosperous areas would tend to be culturally dynamic. In this section, an attempt has been

made to identify the cultural regions of the above mentioned three types, with the help of historical and physical information available to us. After identifying these regions an attempt has also been made to locate the tribal homelands within this region. An attempt has also been made to understand the impact of natural environment on the economy, history and culture of these tribal groups living in the areas of isolation. Finally we have tried to analyse the factors responsible for the development of inter-regional linkages.

The third section of the chapter deals with the political-administrative divisions in North-West India. The political-administrative map of the region has been reconstructed with the help of the information mainly provided in the Ain-i Akbari for the year 1595. On the basis of Ain's information (and supported by Babar Nama and Akbar Nama) the whole region has been divided into subas, sarkars and in case of Kabul even upto tumans or parganas. The delineation of these boundaries was done with the help of physiographic features and physiographic divisions. In this section an attempt has been made to establish the relationship between physical, cultural and political-administrative regions.

2.1 PHYSIOGRAPHY AND PHYSICAL REGIONS

The knowledge of physical setting is a basic requirement for the understanding and analysis of the spatial structure of the region. Physiography, climatic conditions, qua-

lity of the soil, natural vegetation and mineral resources of a region not only have influenced its economic development but also have determined to a great extent the course of its political and cultural history. The regions physically suitable for economic development usually attracted people from other regions and ultimately became politically strong.

In this section, an attempt has been made to study the prominent physiographic features of the region and to divide the whole region into physical regions and sub-regions. In this study North-West India has been divided into two major divisions - Indus River Basin and Hilmand and Arghandab River Basin. These river basins, then have been divided into major physical regions and sub-regions. While describing these regions an attempt has been made to highlight the major physiographic features of the region and to identify the fertile broad river valleys suitable for settled agriculture and economic development. The size, volume and characteristics of the important rivers have also been discussed to estimate their utility for agriculture and for transport and navigation.

2.1.1 The Indus River Basin

The Indus originating in the Himalaya and Hindu Kush mountains is among the great rivers of Asia, and has a catchment area of 1,165,000 sq. kms. To get an idea of this vast river basin it is necessary to note some of the salient features of the rivers of this system - which may be divided

into three sections.

a) Rivers of Punjab (receiving water mainly from the Himalayas). The Jhelum is the most westerly of the five major rivers of Punjab. It is known as Veth in Kashmir and as Vehat in the Punjab plains. These names correspond to the name Bihat given to this river in the Mughal times. Issuing from a deep pool at Vernag in Kashmir. Jhelum becomes navigable just below its source and flows north-west through Srinagar in a lazy stream for 120 miles into Wular lake and beyond it into Baramula. From Baramula the character of the Jhelum suddenly changes, and for the next 70 miles upto Kohala, it rushes down a deep gorge, which is formed by the Kajnag mountains on the right and the Pir Panjal on the left. After receiving waters of Kishanganga, a little above Kohala it turn sharply to the south and loses its character as a mountain stream a little above the Jhelum settlement. After flowing through the plains of Punjab it finally pours its water into the Chenab at Trimmu.

The Chenab (more properly Chinab or river of China) is formed by the union of the Chandra and Bhaga. Near Kishtwar the river breaks through the Pir Panjal range, and then receives the drainage of its southern slopes. At Akhnur it becomes navigable and after Sialkot it is joined from the west by Tawi, the stream on which stands Jammu. After its junction with Jhelum, the united stream is called Chenab and is joined on the north by the Ravi and on its south by the Sutlej. Below its junction with the latter, the stream is

known as the Panjnad.

The Ravi rises near the Rotang pass in Kangra, and flows north-west through the southern part of Chemba. After reaching the Kashmir border it turns to the south-west. Though the Ravi, like the Jhelum, has a course of 450 miles, it has a far smaller catchment area, and as a stream is really of little significance.

The headwaters of Bias are divided from those of the Ravi by Bara Bangahal range. About the Hariki ferry, it falls into the Sutlej. The Bias has a total course of 390 miles and out of it only for about 80 miles or so, it is a true river of the plains, and its floods do not spread far.

The confluence of the Beas and Sutlej at Hari ki-pattan took place about A.D. 1780.[1] According to Cunningham, for many centuries previously the point of junction had remained constant just above the ferry of Bhao-ki-pattan between Kasur and Firozpur.[2]

The Sutlej is the greatest river of the system after the Indus and for its source we have to go back to the Manasarowar Lake in Tibet. The Sutlej has a course of 900 miles, and most of its catchment area lies in the hills.

1 This junction is mentioned by various Mughal Chroni-cellors, including Abul Fazl and Aftabchi. Though the confluence of Beas and Sutlej near Firozpur had been long established, yet even at the latter date the Beas continued to flow down their old channel, as mentioned by Abul Fazl. "For the distance of 12 kos near Firozpur the rivers Beas and Sutlej unite and these again, as they pass on, divide into four streams, Hur, Hare, Dand and Nurni, all of which rejoin near the city of Multan." Ain, II, p.

2 Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, Varanasi, 1975, p. 187.

b) Kabul River (receiving water mainly from Hindu Kush). The Kabul river is the most important tributary of the Indus from the west. The Kabul River Basin is separated from Amu Darya Basin by the high Hindu Kush mountain system. Broadly defined, Hindu Kush is a mountain system, nearly 1000 miles (1600 kms) long and about 200 miles (320 kms) wide, running north-east to south-west). The Safed Koh, a conspicuous mountain range, separates Kabul river basin from Kurram basin and at present makes the boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The Kabul river rises near Unai Pass (about 14000 feet or 4270 m high) 40 miles west of Kabul city. It is fordable as far as Kabul city. At a short distance beyond this, it receives the Logar from the south, and thence forward becomes a rapid river with a considerable volume of water. About 40 miles below Kabul city it receives the Panjshir from the north and 15 miles downstream the Tagao. The Surkhab meets it from the south 20 miles below the united streams of the Alinagar and Alishang. Just below Jalalabad it is joined by the Kunar from the north and thereafter it is a larger river.

Between Kabul city and Jalalabad the river is fordable in places but after it has been swelled by the waters of Logar the fords are not always practicable. Both at Sarobi (opposite Naglu) and at Jalalabad there are alternative fords and ferries. From Dobandi (or Nisatta) to attok, the Kabul is navigable by boats of 40 to 50 tons.

The Panjshir river, a tributary of the Kabul river also has an important valley. The river is about 200 miles (320 kms); long and rises near Anjuman Pass trends southwards through alternating narrow gorges with high walls and relatively broad, open (1/3 - 3/4 mile (1/2 - 1 km) wide) valleys where terraced agriculture flourishes. At Gulbahar, the Panjshir shifts to south-east and joins the Kabul north of Lataband Pass near Sarobi.

The Logar river (about 125 miles (200 kms) long) flows out of the mountains of the eastern Hazarajat; courses through the relatively wide Logar Valley, sometimes called the "granary of Kabul", and strikes the Kabul river 6 miles (9 kms) east of Kabul.

The Kunar River begins in Afghanistan as the Bashgal high in Nuristan and flows through a wide valley until pinched in at Arnawai (Arandu in Pakistan). A ranging torrent through its length in Afghanistan, the Bashgal joins the Kunar river proper, pushing through the mountains of Chitral (also the name of a river) in Pakistan. Below Chiga Serai the river valley widens to about 1/2 miles (2.4 kms). The floow plain near the Jalalabad valley exceeds one mile. The Kunar feeds many canals and Karez and joins the Kabul near Jalalabad.

Swat, a tributary of Kabul is formed by the united waters of Gabral and Ushu. The former rises on the east of Badugai pass, and the latter comes down from the higher hills of Bashkar to the north. From Kalan the Swat river flows

almost due south for about 68 miles (110 kms) but at Manglaur turns abruptly to the south-west and west for 24 miles (38 kms) where it is joined by the Panjkora. Swat river joins the Kabul at Nisatta after a total course of about 400 miles. Fed by glaciers and snow it has a considerable volume in the summer months but shrinks after the middle of September, until in mid-winter it is fordable almost every where.

An important characteristic of the Kabul river and its mountain-bred tributaries, the Kunar, Swat etc. is that they flow through well fixed channels with little apparent variation from century to century. All the southern tributaries of Kabul from Logar river upto Indus are however, not of any significance though they are numerous in number.

c) Other Tributaries of the Indus: Of the other tributaries of the Indus from the west, the Kurram river rises at the eastern base of the Sarkai Pass and then flows between the Tor-Ghar hills on the west and Matungi hills on the east. From Kharlachi it flows south-east for about 55 miles (88 kms) till it reaches Thal. It then turns southward and after receiving the Kaitu river, it enters Bannu, Traversing Bannu region with a south-easterly course it cuts its way through a narrow gorge, known as Darra Tang and falls into the Indus opposite Mianwali. In its course through the Kurram Valley it is mainly fed by streams from the Safed Koh.

One of the very important tributaries of Kurram is Tochi, which rises near Spider Nari in the Upper part of

Farmul. During the first part of its course it is in many places a difficult defile hemmed in by steep banks; but after passing Shirania, it flow through an open plain which is well cultivated.

Another important tributary of the Indus is the Gomal, which rises near Sarwandi, on the Koh Nak range. It flows in south-eastern direction to enter Pakistan at Domandi, where Kundar joins it. Between Domandi and Murtuza the Gomal receives the water of Wana Toi (north bank) and Toi Khula (south bank). The Gomal also receives zhob's water, a stream as large as that of the Gomal. After leaving the hills, the natural course of the Gomal is to the south-east i.e., along the foot of the lower Shirani hills, and thence towards Kolachi.

It is clear from the above discussion that the main rivers of the Indus basin and their tributaries are different from one another. These rivers are not only different from the point of view of their nature, length, volume and their economic utility but also from the point of view of their usefulness as means of transport and communication. For example, some rivers have been useful for navigation while others not; many have been fordable while others have proved as difficult barriers.

Physical Regions of the Indus River Basin

The large expanse of the catchment area of the Indus is characterized by significant physical and climatic varia-

tions. Elevations of the Hindu Kush mountains in the north and north-east of the region are higher as compared to southern ranges of Himalayas. South of the Himalayas and Hindu Kush, there is a broad sub-montane region. West of the Indus, are beautiful valleys of the rivers coming out from the Hindu Kush, the Safed Koh and the Sulaiman mountains. East of the Indus and south of the Punjab hills, lie the plains of Punjab and Sind. South of these plains is the delta of the Indus river. In this vast Indus Basin there are salt ranges and fairly large deserts.

Though it is difficult to delineate this vast and diverse basin into distinct physical regions, however, the following broad regions have been identified for the present study:

1. Northern Mountain Complex
2. Kabul Basin
3. Sub-Montane Indus and Baluchistan Ranges
4. Indus Plains

2.1.1.1 Northern Mountain Complex

The physical personality of the majestic Himalayas, representing a typical fold mountain system prevails over the physiographic details of the Northern Indus Basin. This region consists of huge mountain ranges interspersed by longitudinal valleys. The major mountain ranges of the region are - the Karakoram, the Ladakh, the main Himalaya or Zaskar, and the Pir Panjal. Between these ranges are

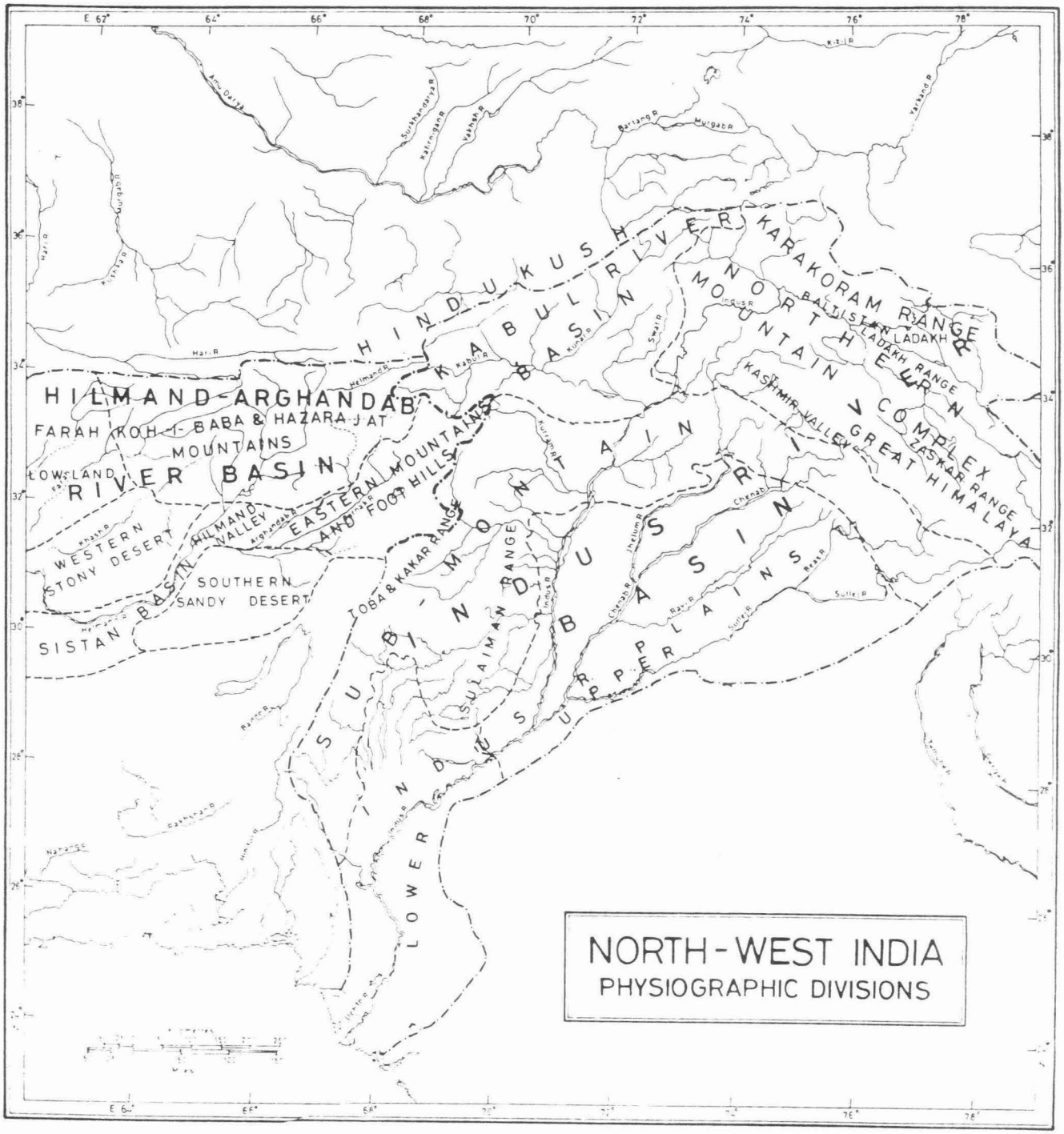
the longitudinal valleys of the Gilgit, the Shyok, the Indus and the Jhelum. The most distinguishing features of this region are its snow capped and jagged peaks, wide valley glaciers of stupendous size, rapidly flowing mountain streams and seemingly unfathomable deep gorges.(See Map 2.2)

The Karakoram:

Karakoram rather than the Pamir, is the Roof of the world. It is a mass of rock and ice extending for 250 miles (402 kms) from the Shyok to the Hunza, with the greatest assemblage in the world of giant peaks - 33 of them being over 24000 feet (7315 mt). It culminates in the tremendous keeps of three Gasherbrum summit, all are over 26000 feet (7925 mt) and finally K. 2 itself.[3] K. 2 (mt. Godwin Austen) with an elevation of 28250 feet (8610 mt) is exceeded only by Everest. The passes are rarely lower than the summit of Mt. Blanc and several are over 18,000 feet. The West Muztagh, at 19030 feet (5800 mt) is certainly the highest trade route in the world.

Baltistan, the country between the Northern Shigar and Nubra though very harsh is slightly more favoured than Ladakh, with a (152 mm.) precipitation of 6 inches and more glaciers. The valleys at 8000 - 10000 feet have few patches of pine and deodar on their slopes. Willow and polar grow along the streams. Agriculture depends on the snow melt,

3 O.H.K. Spate; A.T.A. Learmonth, India and Pakistan, New Delhi, 1972.


HINDUKUSH
KABUL RIVER BASIN
KARAKORAM RANGE
NORTH-EASTERN MOUNTAIN COMPLEX
BALTISTAN
LADAKH
LADAKH RANGE
ZASKAR RANGE
GREAT HIMALAYA
KASHMIR VALLEY
HILMAND-ARGHANDAB
RIVER BASIN
FARAH
KOH-I-BABA & HAZARA JAT MOUNTAINS
LOWLAND
EASTERN MOUNTAINS AND FOOT HILLS
HILMAND VALLEY
WESTERN STONY DESERT
SOUTHERN SANDY DESERT
SISTAN BASIN
TOBA & KAKAR RANGE
SULAIMAN RANGE
INDUS BASIN
SUBMONTANE
UPPER PLAINS
LOWER INDUS PLAINS
NORTH-WEST INDIA
PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

Map 22

which lies from mid-December to mid-March. In winter many villages get sun shine for barley an hour or two a day, but in summer the heat in the narrow rock-walled valleys, especially around Skardu is intense. The hot summer enables a wide variety of fruits - peaches, melons, grapes, and above all apricots.

To the east conditions get progressively worse. Around Panggong there are a few fields of barlay and peas on the fans at 14000 feet (4265 mt.) or a little more. On the plateau, north-east of Panggong, even pastoralism is difficult.

The Ladakh:

Ladakh is one of the most elevated regions of the world. The high plain predominates in the east, diminishing gradually westward. In the southeast of Ladakh lies Rupshu, a country of great brackish lakes and with a uniform height of about 13500 feet (). Cultivation there is difficult but a little beardless barley is raised. The small population consists mainly of nomadic shephereds. In Ladakh proper towards north cultivation between the height of 9000 to 15000 feet (2745 to 4575 mt) is done by means of manuring and irrigation. The people are divided into shephards or Champas, who pursue pastoralism on the upland valleys too high for cultivation, and the Ladakhis who, cultivate the land around the villages in the valleys.

The climate is dry and healthy and the atmosphere of

the Indus Valley is remarkably clear. At Leh the mean maximum temperature for July, the hottest month is 24°C (76°F) and the mean minimum for January, the coldest month is - 15°C (8°F). Average annual precipitation is 3.3 inches (8.3 cm.). The vegetation is confined to valleys and sheltered spots. Irrigation is skillfully managed, the principal products being wheat, barley, millet, buck wheat, peas, beans and turnips.

The Great Himalaya and the Zaskar Range:

The Great Himalaya may be taken as commencing in the Indus bend; across the river in Swat. From Zojila to Indus the really high ground (over 15000 feet, 4570 mt) is broken into a number of district massifs of which Naga Parbat is by far the most conspicuous. It lies east of the great break of Sutlej/Spiti Valley, a distance of 250 miles (402 kms) in which there are several peaks over 21000 feet (6400 mt).

Between the Great Himalaya and the Indus the same lines are well shown in the Zazkar Range and its reticulate drainage pattern, e.g. the southern Shigar, the head stream of the Zaskar River, and the Valleys of inland drainage in Rupshu. The higher Zaskar peaks are seated upon a broad plateau like range, much dissected at about 19500 feet (5945 mt.).

The Valley of Kashmir:

Between the Great Himalaya and the Pir Panjal lies the valley of Kashmir, a great basin about 85 miles by 25

(135 by 40 kms) with a floor which, in the Jhelum flood plain, is only 5200 feet (1585 mt) above see level. Among the most striking features of the Valley of Kashmir are the flat-topped terraces known a Karewas, a term applied to Pleistocene sediments of which they are composed. These deposits consist of clays, sands and silt of undoubted lacustrine origin, in which bands of marl and of loessic silt, together with lenticles of conglomerate from old deltaic fans, bear witness to many fluctuations of level.

Though not greatly significant in area the variability of the valley provides a picturesque land scape. According to Lawrence "every hundred feet of its elevation brings some new phase of climate and vegetation, and, in a short ride of thirty miles one can pass from over-powering heat to a climate delightfully cool, or can escape from wearisome wet weather to a dry and sunny atmosphere".[4] The Valley is very fertile and it is said that there is not a fruit or a vegetable that can not be grown in Kashmir which will grow in a temperate climate.

The Pir Panjal:

The Pir Panjal is in a sense a bifurcation from the main Himalayas farther east. The massive Permo-Carboniferous limestones, metamorphics, and intrusives from a broad swelling platform at about 13000 feet (3960 mt), on which lies a serrated residual crest, the highest monadnocks reach-

4 W.R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 13-14.

ing 15500 feet (4725 mt). The passes lie as a rule at 11000-12000 feet (around 3500 mt).

The Pir Panjal snow comes mostly in winter from west or north-west, and the southern aspects are more exposed to warm air-currents from the plains. The southern flank is wetter than the northern and the slopes here are too steep for soil formation. The larger coniferous forests are mostly to the north. The lower levels of the ranges in the west carry a fair population. The climate is quite cold. The terraced irrigation is not difficult and rice can be produced. The region on the whole proves to be essentially negative and acts as a barrier.

2.1.1.2 The Kabul Basin

The mountains of this region were presumably subjected to the same orogenic movements which uplifted the Himalayas proper and folded and distorted the original sedimentry deposits, laid down in the Tethys Sea and extensive Middle Eastern Mesozoic marine basins. Most of the valleys (such as Ghorband, Kabul, Panjsher) are marked by fault lines. Although, many valleys are narrow, some wider intermontane basins do permit agriculture. Frequent earth quakes, about fifty shakes of varying intensity per year, still occur.

Five major valleys dominate the human geographic pattern of the Kabul Basin.

The Kabul Valley is an area of high level basins, with

altitudes varying from 5000 to 12,000 feet (1500 to 3600 mt). Filled with probable Neogene and Pleistocene sediments these basins are surrounded by mountains of old rugged crystaline and metamorphic Palaeozoic rocks. The Paghman Range sits north-west of Kabul, with the Safed Koh to the south-east and Koh-i-Baba rising in the west. The Kabul river flows to Jalalabad through Tang-i-Gharu, one of the most spectacular gorges in Afghanistan.

The second major valley, Kohistan - Panjsher, includes the wide basin of Koh-Daman and Charikar and leads to the steepsided valleys of Nijrao and Tagao where farmers practice terraced agriculture. This region consists mainly of faulted, dissected limestone, with some intrusive epliolites bordered by gneisses rocks in the east. The Panjshir Valley serves as the major north-south route.

The third major valley, Ghorband, lies in an east-west direction from Charikar to Shibar Pass. Here the sedimentry deposits are flatter and with higher terraces than Panjshir. Farther west near Bulola there is limestone, and near Baniyan, sandstone and conglomerate cliffs are encountered. Further east, the formations become increasingly indifferentiate metamorphies.

The fourth is Kafiristan (now known as Nuristan) a region of wild, narrow mountain valleys. This region consists of five major north-south valleys (from east to west; Bashgal-Landai Sin-Kunar River complex, Waigal; Pech-Parun-Kautiwa, Alinagar-Kulam, Darrayi-Nur), and about thirty

east-west lateral valleys. In fact this region has two subdivisions; Alishang-Alinagar river valley region and Kunar valley region. As compared to Kunar Valley the Alishang Valley region has very limited cultivated land.

The fifth is the Swat Valley which is about 130 miles (209 kms) long and has an average width of 12 miles (19 kms). The mountainous region of the north is known as Kohistan (mountain country). The southern parts have low altitudes and consist of long main valleys, which are intersected by ravines and glens bringing down the drainage of the ranges on the either side. The level plains on the banks of the river are cultivated as are the hill sides. Above these is a pine-clad range.

The climate of Swat plains is significantly different from that of Kohistan. In this region snow usually begins to fall in October, blocking most mountain passes for at least part of the winter. The permanent snow line varies between 10000 and 120000 feet above sea level. The winter snow line creeps down to about 6000 feet. Blizzards dominate the winter months, and snow locks most passes above 7000 to 8000 feet. In the spring (March-May) the snow melts and rushing streams become raging torrents. The winter months (December-March) are intensely cold and snowy in the mountainous areas of the region, although much less snowfalls in the main basins, such as Kabul, Panjshir and Ghorband. Spring temperatures increase tremendously. Freezing weather is found in April in the highest passes, but below

7000 feet temperatures are more comfortable, averaging 55° to 65° F (13° to 18°C) at noon.

The last is the vale of Peshawar which forms a semi circle of low land of some 2200 sq. miles (5698 sq. kms) of hill girt except in the east where only a low sandstone ridge separates it from the Indus. In the Peshawar region, rainfall averages some 20 inches (508 mm) in the centre, decreasing south and west, increasing east and north. Perennial water from the two main rivers, Kabul and Swat, has long provided irrigation, so much so, that formerly seasonal streams have now a permanent flow from seepage and discharge. Water logging and salinity are problems towards the east.

2.1.1.3 Sub-Mountain Indus and Baluchistan Ranges

The Sub-Mountain Indus Region consists of the following sub-regions:

a) The Trans-Indus plains: Kohat and Bannu.[5]

b) The Potwar Plateau, east of the Indus.

c) The Salt Range, making off the southern boundary of the region both in Bannu and Potwar, and cut through by the Indus at the head of the Kalabagh re-entrant.[6]

5 Spate includes Peshawar plain in this region. Spate, p. 495.

6 This division is not foolproof; but for that matter Spate is also not satisfied with the divisions, he suggested. The three plains of Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu which he included in this region, according to him may be included within the Northern Hill Region, Spate, p. 495.

For this division the salt range scrap is taken as the southern boundary and sub-Himalayan Kashmir as the north-eastern limit.

The Trans-Indus Plains: Kohat and Bannu

If we include the Peshawar Plains into the Kabul Basin, only the Kohat and Bannu low lands remain in this region.

The Kohat plains is in fact the valley region of not one but two rivers. This plain is drained by the Kohat, Toi, Tiri Toi and their feeders. These two rivers generally run from west to east, parallel to the Kabul river, while their tributaries have a tendency to run north and south. The tributaries of the Kohat Toi are Hangu, Khankai, Kachai, Marai, Sumari and Walai, while Gurguri, Kharbuza and Surtang Sir are the tributaries of Tiri Toi.

The Kohat plain is higher than Peshawar and Bannu i.e., around 1500 feet (460 mt.) and is much broken by west/east lime-stone ridges. The filling of the uneven limestone floor varies from lacustrine clay to gravel and boulder fans; there are many springs in the limestone, and the water table is generally high. The climate of the Kohat region is agreeable for the greater part of the year. During the winter months the air is cold, dry, and bracing. The average rainfall is about 16 inches (400 mm) which comes during the months of July, August, September and December.

The Bannu low lands, about 500 feet (152 mt) in height, lying south of Kohat plains, are a basin enclosed by moun-

tains into which converge the Kurram, the Tochi and numerous other hill streams. This region is much braided and has broad boulderstrewn channels which are dry for most of the year but can erode when in flood. In the lower part of the valley there is a great admixture of sand in the soil but proceeding upto the Kurram valley, the sand decreases. Rainfall is nearly 10 inches (254 mm) and is evenly distributed. It allows year round cropping, but with the emphasis on winter wheat. There is much fallow and scrub, and sand-dune country.

The Potwar Plateau:

The Potwar Plateau covers an area of 4000-5000 sq. miles (10360-12950 sq. km) at about 1200-1900 feet (366-580 mt). There are a few outlying spurs of the salt range in the south. In general it is open undulating country developed mainly on sandstone Siwaliks and mantled by varing thickness of loessic silt which erodes easily into deep canyons. Most of the hills and rivers are bordered by belts of intricately dissected ravine lands locally known as Khuddera.

The streams are generally deep-set owing to rejuvenation, and of little or no use for irrigation. Agriculture depends mostly on rainfall of 15-25 inches (381-635 mm). Temperatures are extreme and snow though rare, is not unknown. Soils are often sandy, or stony near the daman and wind-blown sand from the stream-beds is a menace to agri-

culture. The most favoured area is the Chach, a strip some 20 by 10 miles (32 by 16 km) along the Indus, north-east of Attock. Rawalpindi is the most important town of the region. Some 30 miles away are the ruins of Texila, the greatest of the Buddhist universities of India.

The Salt Range:

The ramparts of the Salt Range, sinuous in outline and exceedingly complex in detail, sharply mark off the region from the Punjab Plains. They reach nearly 5000 feet (1525 mt) at Sakesar but in general are not much over half that height. The southern face is remarkably steep and dissected into jagged spurs and crests which are separated by wild ravines. For most part, it is an intensely arid and forbiding country, even though rainfall is higher than in the surrounding plains, reaching 20 inches (508 mm) at Sakesar. There is some agriculture in the little intermont basins, but human interest in the subregion is centered on the enormous deposits of rock-salt, perhaps the most massive in the world.

The Baluchistan Ranges:

The arid basin and hills of Baluchistan in the eastern portion of the great Iranian plateaus is sharply marked off from the Indus Plain by Kirthar and Sulaiman ramparts. In the north-east the Gomal river or Salt Range may be taken as a rational limit, beyond which the strongly trellised

drainage patterns of Baluchistan are replaced by transverse valleys direct to Indus, giving a distinctly different human or strategic emphasis.

The mountains or ranges of this region may conveniently be divided into two different divisions - Northern and South-Eastern. The Northern Ranges consist of the region lying between Toba Kakar Range in the North-West and Sulaiman Range in the east. This region may be further divided into three sub-divisions, Toba Kakar Range, Loralai - Zhob ar and Sulaiman Range.

The Ranges which lie between the Kundar and the Zhob tributaries of the Gomal are known as the Toba Kakar Hills. The ranges run generally in south-west - North-east direction between Chaman, in the south to Gomal in the north. There are many ridges between the Kundar and Zhob rivers on Toba Kakar hills - Zamki Ghar (8015 feet) Tswarlasguna (8785 feet) and Spin Ghar (8712 feet) etc. North-west of Kundar river, in the mountains, lies the watershed between Indus and Helmand (which forms the national boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan in this area).

South from the Gomal runs the great series of echelonned ridges, known as the Sulaiman Ranges. The dominating mountain of the Sulaiman Range, which rises to over 11000 feet, is known as Takht-i-Sulaiman and lies only 30 miles (48 km) south of Gomal river. The mountain itself is better known locally as the Kaisargarg, the name of the highest northern peak. The Sulaiman Range has summits gene-

rally at 6000 - 7000 feet (1830-2135 mt). At about 36°N the Sulaiman begin to swing westward, until finally it points towards the Quetta node.

Looped between the Toba Kakar and Sulaiman Range lie the trellis-patterned basins of the Zhob and Beji. Consisting of nested folds of cretaceous and Ecocene limestones and sandstones, they produce in Loralai, an extraordinary landscape of innumerable scraps and hogsbacks, small plateaus and mesas, and steep craggy out-crops with the talub-slopes littered with bolders half the size of the field which are very small. A few greener patches in small alluvial or detrital basins occur set in these arid hills.

The South-Eastern Ranges exhibit a marked contrast either side of the 66° 15'E. The most striking difference is found in the Kirthar range, rising from 4000 feet (1220 mt) in the south to about 8000 feet (2440 mt) in the north. There are only few gorges which break this range, such as those of the Mula and Gaj rivers. Though Mula gorge was used by the withdrawing Alexander's army, they are now useful only for the local traffic.

The Kirthar is full of deep fissures and ravines and affords grazing to large herds of cattle. Ranges lying south and east of the Kirthar Range are known as the Sind Kohistan. A unit by itself, it has deep broad valleys running parallel in the north-south direction. With scanty rains and limited cultivation, it covers all the lower ridges and undulating plains of rapidly withering rock. It has six

ranges, Lakhi, Kambhu, Badhar, Bhit and Dunbar and two plateaues called Mol and Myhar.

2.1.1.4 The Indus Plains

South of the Hkmalaya and the Salt range lies the vast plain stretching south to the Arabian Sea. As it is drained by the Indus and its tributaries, it is usually called the Indus plain. Its northern part is known as the Punjab - the land of five rivers. The lower Indus plain, below Mithankot, where the Indus carries not only its own water but also that of its five tributaries is known as Sind. The Sind plain differs from the Punjab plain in that it has been formed by the changing course of a single great river and the deposits are of a comparatively recent origin. It is hence better to divide this region into two main sub-divisions: The Upper Indus Plain and The Lower Indus Plain.

The Upper Indus Plain (Punjab)

The whole area forms an immense plain, some 350 miles (northwest/southwest) by 450 miles (northeast/southwest) (565 by 725 km. respectively). The elevation of this plain is generally under 1200 feet (366 mt), most of it lying under 600 (183 mt). The fall is naturally steepest (about 15 feet per mile) in the sub-montane strip; over most of the area it is 1 feet and in the extreme south-west only 6 inches.

The region is a great mass of alluvium brought down by the Indus and the Five Rivers, which from west to east

are Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. The interfluves called doabs or 'two waters', are given names compounded from those of their confining streams and are, in the above order, Jech a Chag (Chenhat) Rechna, Bari and Bist (Beth Jalandhar).

The only breaks in the alluvial monotony of the plains, on either side of the Chenab, are little groups of arid broken hills near Sangla and Kirana. These are very small in extent but rise in jagged pinnacles, 1000 feet above the plains (their highest point is 1662 feet or 512 mt) and lie within 40 miles (64 km) of the salt range.

In the active flood plains of the rivers, known as Khadar or bet, erosion and deposition take place on a large scale during the summer floods. The actual banks of the rivers are naturally a little higher than the Khadar, owing to salt deposition in floods. The riverain or bet lands are agriculturally valuable but exposed to flooding. The higher and more arid parts of the doabs, often mere waste[7] when not irrigated, are known as bar.

The Sind Sagar Doab consists of a mantle of wind-blown sand which is highly permeable. The surface is rough and covered with shifting sand-dunes. There are high sand hills in the centre and the south, and narrow belts of level land

7 With the help of irrigation the old dreary wastes of the doabs have been converted into extremely prosperous agricultural lands. The soil is generally fertile, but more than three-fourths of the Sind Sagar Doab is still a desert or semi-desert.

called patti, which are trenched shallowly below the adjacent land in the north and west. Similarly, Cholistan, south-east of the Sutlej in Bahawalpur, is an arid waste of shifting sand. Occasionally, among the sand hills there occur flat stretches of firm soil.

West of Indus in the Derajat, the bet is narrower or absent, the main channel often abutting directly on the high bank. Beyond this lies the daman of the Sulaiman Ranges. East of the Sutlej lies the Thar, with a ringe of irrigable khadar, 5-25 miles (8-40 km) wide between the desert and the river.

The influence of the westerly depression extends right across the Punjab dying down around the Yamuna. Peshawar has a rainfall of 5.2 inches (13 cm) between January and March but Lahor gets only 2.7 inches (6.8 cm). The immediate foot of the hills gets around 35 inches(cm). This falls to about 20 inches at Lahor, only 25 miles from the hills. The whole of the southern half gets under 10 inches of unreliable and often torrential rain.

In the plains the temperatures are extreme. The range of temperature in Lahor is nearly 40°F (under 55°F in January to nearly 94°F in June). Frosts are normal in January in the north and not uncommon even at Multan. Dust-storms are a predominent feature of the hot weather, but as they are accompanied by a marked drop in temperature (about 20°F) and rise in relative humidity, they are less feared.

The Lower Indus Plains (Sind)

In the lower plains, the Indus, with the waters of five big tributaries flows as a gigantic river, which, during the flood seasons, is several miles wide. The river flows very slowly and the silt carried by it is largely deposited on its bed, thereby raising it above the level of the sandy plain. The land on either side is, therefore, protected by the construction of embankments or bunds. The Sind plain is different from the Punjab plain as it has been formed by the changing course of a single river, the Indus, and the deposits are of a comparatively recent origin.

The Central Sind plain, between the left bank of the Indus and the Thar desert is a level alluvial plain laid down by the Indus. In the east it merges into desert where the landscape is dominated by sand dunes. West of the Indus lies the high Kirthar piedmont plain which slopes gently to the river. The Lower Indus plain may be divided into three sections: the western valley, the eastern valley and the Delta. The western valley is formed mainly of older alluvium called bhangar. Soils are finer towards the south, fertile in itself, but useless due to waterlogging and salinity. There are small lakes. The Eastern Valley is in a sense the older delta, a great doab or recent alluvial sands and clays, falling from 250 feet to 50 feet in 200 miles and crossed by innumerable meander-scars and long narrow depressions (dhoros), apparently fragments of old drainage systems now disrupted by the shifting course, desiccation and sand encroachments.

The Delta merges southwards into the great mud and salt wastes of the Rann of Kutch. Changes in the distributaries have been numerous, facilitated in the north by sandy micaceous surface. The coast is fringed with dead creeks and dead ports. There are great stretches of tall grass and a few cultivable patches; but on the whole the Indus Delta is a savage waste.

Compared with the Upper Indus plain, the climate of lower Sind is less extreme. The summers are hotter and the winters milder. In fact the dominating feature of the Sind climate is heat and aridity. The average rainfall in this region is less than 10 inches, but an interesting feature is that it almost never rains but pours; Karachi has recorded 12 inches in 24 hours. The natural vegetation of thorn scrub merges into thickets of babul and tamarisk along the inundable riverain tracts.

2.1.2 Hilmand - Arghandab River Basin

Southwest of Kabul river system, which forms a part of greater Indus Basin lies Hilmand-Arghandab, entirely an inland system. This region, apart from Indus Basin, was part of the Suba of Kabul during the period under study. Thus, it is necessary to discuss, atleast in brief, some of the physical characteristics of the region.

The 800 miles long (1300 km) Hilmand River rises out of the southern watershed by the Koh-i-Baba Range near Kabul, and flows in a generally south-westerly direction until it

approaches the Iranian border, where it takes a sharp turn and empties into the marsh lakes and Lagoons of the Hamun-i-Hilmand, lying mainly in Iran. The Hilmand has no outlet to the sea, and millennia of evaporation have produced many salt flats, such as the Gaud-Zirreh in the Sistan Basin. Seasonal water of snow-melt keeps the rivers of Hamun-i-Hilmand fresh, but the lakes overflow and spread salts to other parts of the depression. The mountains of Hazarajat hem the Hilmand into narrow valleys with gorge like cliffs. Above Girishk, the topography changes and wide terraces of former flood plains dominate, until they break out into the deserts of south-western Afghanistan. Several tributaries join Hilmand; Kaj Rud and Tirin in Hazarajat, Rud-i-Musa Qala south of Kajakai, and several intermittent streams south of Girishk.

The only other major river in the system is the Arghandab. The headwaters of this 350 miles (560 km) long river squat the granitic masses of the eastern Hazarajat. Less that 50 miles (80 km) north of Qandahar, the Arghandab flows into open country. Low hills separate the river from Qandahar before it eventually reaches the Hilmand at Qala Bist. West of Qandahar the Kushk-i-Nakhud and Garm Ab, pour their water into Arghandab from the north. The Arghastan river on the east runs parallel to the Arghandab for about 175 miles (280 km). Arghandab joins Dori river which is about 200 miles long, south-east of Qandahar. The Dori in its turn flows on to join the Arghandab west of Panjwai.

The Tarnak, about 200 miles (320 kms) long and sandwiched between the Arghandab and Arghastan, drains the Kalat-i-Gilzai region. The Ghazni Rud, about 150 miles (240 km) long, mainly waters the Ghazni area. Its principal tributary, the Jilga, flows out of Paktya Ab-i-Istada, a brackish lake and receives the run off from the Ghazni Rud. This lake is the source of the Lora river and is 17 miles long and 7 miles wide (27 kms and 8 kms respectively).

The Farah Rud, farther north-west about 200 miles (320 kms) long, has its watershed in the Paropamisus Mountains and flows through the desert to the Hamum-i-Sabari (or Sabiri). The Rud-i-Ghar joins the Farah Rud near Kumrak before it debouches into the stony desert of Dasht-i-Narmung. Further south, the Malmun river joins the Farah Rud. The Harut Rud originates from the mountains, south east of Herat, and passes through the Shindan to reach the Hamun-i-Sabari.

In between the Farah and the Hilmand lies Khash Rud which is about 300 miles (480 kms) long. It originates from western Hazarajat and flows upto Chakansur during the flood season. Near Dilaram the Khash Rud becomes a series of isolated pools during the dry season. Even more affluent Arghandab can dry up into a series of unconnected pools in unusually dry years.

Physical Regions of Hilmand-Arghandab River Basin

Hilmand-Arghandab basin, which in a way includes Farah Rud system also, is a fairly large region. Physiographically it is a diverse region, but without sufficient productive

lands. All the important rivers of this region, as mentioned earlier, originate in the north which is by far the most elevated area of the basin. Elevations are higher in the eastern region as compared to the western. The southern half of the basin is low lying and most of it is desert. The basin may be divided in the following six physiographic divisions:

i) The Koh-i-Baba and Hazarajat Mountains
ii) Eastern Mountains and Foothills.
iii) Southern Sandy Deserts
iv) Sistan Basin and Hilmand Valley
v) Western Stony Deserts
vi) Farah Low lands

2.1.2.1 The Koh-i-Baba and Hazarajat Mountains

These mountains in fact are known as the Central Afghanistan Mountains. West of Shibar Pass, the Koh-i-Baba mountain range, a rugged, barren elevated table land which is the backbone of Afghanistan contains sources of several important river systems: the Kabul, Hilmand-Arghandab and Hari Rud. The highest-peaks in these mountains vary between 14000 and 17000 feet (4270 and 5180 mts) with the summit of the Koh-i-Baba range at Shah Foladi, about 20 miles from Ak Sarat Pass. Slopes in the north area gentler than those in the south.

The mountain chain which is separated by Hilmand river from the Koh-i-Baba mountains is relatively lower in altitude

but sufficiently broad and wide. The terrain is very rugged and the river valleys are choked with boulders and gravels laid down in winter and moved along with great rapidity by spring snow melts. The few wide valleys are usually inhabited and cultivated. Those at high altitudes are used as summer grazing lands for livestock.

2.1.2.2 Eastern Mountains and Foothills

This region is formed as the Tarnak and Arghastan rivers of Hilmand debouch into the plains and semi-desert becomes desert, with agricultural villages studding the toothpaste squeezes of the rivers and tributaries. The area mainly embraces, Qandahar, Ghazni and much of Pakliya.

Elevations are higher in the north as compared to the south (Ghazni 7186 feet; Qalat-i-Ghilzai, 5130 feet and Qandahar 3310 feet). The Tarnak river, narrow in parts but widening at times to an impressive extent, with a fertile valley, is suitable for settlement and orchards.

2.1.2.3 Southern Sandy Deserts

South of the Hilmand River lies Registan, the "land of sand", an area of shifting sand dunes with an underlying pebble conglomerate floor. The moving dunes reach heights between 50 and 100 feet (15 and 30 meters). However, some fixed dunes exist in central Registan. The level areas between the dunes, called pat (which means desert in Baluchi), menace travelers. Treacherous sandy-clay mush when wet, pat

becomes a hard topped pan when dry, but remains mushy underneath.

2.1.2.4 Sistan Basin and Hilmand Valley

Most of the low lying (average elevation about 1700 feet or 520 metres) Sistan Basin lies in Iran. The eastern boundary of the Sistan Basin penetrates the edge of the Dasht-i-Margo (Desert of Death) along a sharp scrap with the height varying from 30 feet (9 metres) to several hundred feet. The Sistan Basin is a zone of intermittent lakes and fresh water and brakish marshes. Interspersed between stony and sandy desert it forms a part of the great inland Hilmand drainage basin. The river flows into the Hamun-i-Hilmand, a series of marshes and connecting lakes. Fresh water overflows from the Hamun and empties into the Gaud-i-Zirreh, an ephemeral brackish lake.

The modern lakes are surrounded by level fertile plains which are the ancient beds of extinct lakes. Spring floods often cover wide areas, and the uncontrolled Hilmand flushes down-stream from the mountains. The vicious 'bad-i-sad-o-bist-roz' (wind of 120 days), a seasonal natural phenomenon, emphasizes the inhospitability of the south eastern Hilmand Basin. Born of the different pressures between northern plains and southwestern low-land deserts, the winds whip down the natural corridor along the Irano-Afghan border, stirring up violent sandstorms from Herat to Baluchistan.

2.1.2.5 Western Stony Desert

Dasht-i-Kash, Dasht-i-Margo and adjacent areas are varnished-pebble-strewn deserts, which seldom rise over 3000 feet (915 mt) above sea level and are hot, waterless and barren. Spring flash floods cut deep depressions in the sandy clay and silt underlying the heavily cemented, blackish wind-polished basaltic pebbles. Seasonal overflow from the Hilmand creates shallow ponds through out the fringes of the desert. Great diurnal changes of temperatures occur, and water sometimes freezes at night in summer in spite of noon maximum of 120°F (45°C) or higher.

The region is mostly uninhabited and relatively unexplored. Limited flora and fauna can survive in either the Sistan Basin, Western Stony Deserts or Southern Sandy Desert. Desert plants are xerophtic and adapt to extremes of aridity and salinity.

2.1.2.6 Farah Low Lands

Actually an extension of the Khurasan Region of the Iranian Plateau, the Herat-Farah complex consists mainly of mountain ranges and low hills, sporadically rugged but generally rounded, separated by broad, flat valleys. The region is intensively cultivated whereever water is available.

Winter (December-February) finds freezing temperatures common at night. Warm spells do occur, however, and temperatures above 70°F (21°C) have been recorded for December-January, and 80°F (26°C) in February. Spring (March-May)

is more variable than winter and has some freezing temperatures in March. The average temperature, however, gradually increases to about 70°F (21°C) in May. Day temperatures in the hot, dry summer (June-September) sometimes reach 120°F.

2.2 CULTURAL REGIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES

In the earlier periods of human history, when technology was not quite developed, the influence of the physical environment over man, must have been tremendous. Subbarao, aptly remarks, "The essence of human civilization is the progressive emancipation of man from the clutches of nature as a result of a persistent analysis of its processes and agencies and his final mastery and escape from its adversities. Hence, the environment looses its strangle-hold on man with the gradual evolution of technology."[8]

The cultural regions of North West India during the period under study, had a fair correspondence with the physical regions. During the medieval period, development and diffusion of cultures in a region was strongly influenced by its physical condition. Hence the concept of cultural regions, implied in this study, is not the one that is used by geographers today but a more fundamental and basic one.[9]

The region under study is divided into three types of cultural regions: areas of attraction or perennial nuclear

8 B. Subbarao, Personality of India, Baroda, 1958, p. 8.

9 Subbarao used this concept to divide India into cultural regions.

regions; areas of isolation or culsde sac and, areas of relative isolation. These terms are suggestive of the role of both physiography and cultural lineaments in the evolution and persistence of cultural regions through the processes of endogmous development and diffusion of cultures. The relationship between the economy of a region and the processes of cultural evolution and diffusion is quite obvious, since culture is a superstructure on the structure of economy. Thus, economically progressive or prosperous areas would tend to be culturally dynamic.

Geographers are now of the view that no region is rich and no region is poor, every region is rich in its own way and every region is poor in its own way. But, in certain given conditions and at certain moments in history, some regions have been more suited for economic development, than the others. The reasons are obvious. Every region has some inherent natural resources which provide possibilities of certain type of economic development within the region. A region's natural and physiographic characteristics may also hinder or limit economic development, if knowledge about their availability or their utility is limited. A good example is the supremacy of the fertile river valleys over mineral regions prior to the industrial revolution because in the pre-industrial world, development potential was defined in terms of potential for settled agriculture.

During the period of the Early Mughals, or prior to it, the areas favourable for settled agriculture became

economically more prosperous than other areas and people were attracted into them. Cultural interaction followed, resulting in cultural diffusion and the emergence in them of a dynamic culture. In contrast the areas of isolation, where settled agriculture could not be practised, remained economically backward and hence culturally isolated. The areas of relative isolation had their insularity frequently broken by movements resulting in a curious amalgam in them of the new cultural mosaic intertwined by the relic of an earlier cultural phase.

2.2.1 Areas of Attraction

The concept of areas of attraction or nuclear regions has changed significantly with a major shift in the economic base from agriculture to industry. Prior to the industrial revolution, generally the river valleys, as mentioned earlier, with fertile soil, suitable climatic conditions and adequate communication facilities i.e., endowed with factors which helped promote settled agriculture, were the areas of attraction.

These agriculturally rich areas always attracted people from outside. The later migrants were in many cases conquerors, who posessed superior technology of exploitation of natural resources and had better ideas of organisation of space. These migrants were obsorbed in the cultural melieu of these areas but in this process the existing culture changed significantly. Easy communication lines

within these areas of attraction were conducive to the development of a strong socio-economic and political base in these regions. Good communication links with other areas of attraction, provided on the other hand, the required dynamism to the economy and culture of these areas.

To identify the presently less known areas, as the areas of attraction in past historical periods is paradoxical though justified. Holdich, in the introduction of 'Gates of India' also tries to explain this anomaly. To him the fact that the areas of attraction of the earlier historical period had become less known and less important during the British period, was due to the fact that as the Europeans entered India by the way of the sea it took them a long time to rediscover the best known areas of the ancient and the medieval periods.[10] Prior to the arrival of the Europeans by the sea, nearly all the ethnic elements enetered the Indian sub-continent through regions lying mostly in Afghanistan. The agricultural production in some of these regions was not really much, but due to their location close to the trans-continental communication lines, they were highly suitable both for trade and transport. These areas had also been the melting pots of various racial, linguistic and cultural groups and very often gave birth to mixed and new cultures. Spate called these areas of attraction as the 'perennial Nuclear Regions'.[11] They were known as the Jana-

10 Thomas Holdich, The Gates of India, London, 1910, pp. 1-10.

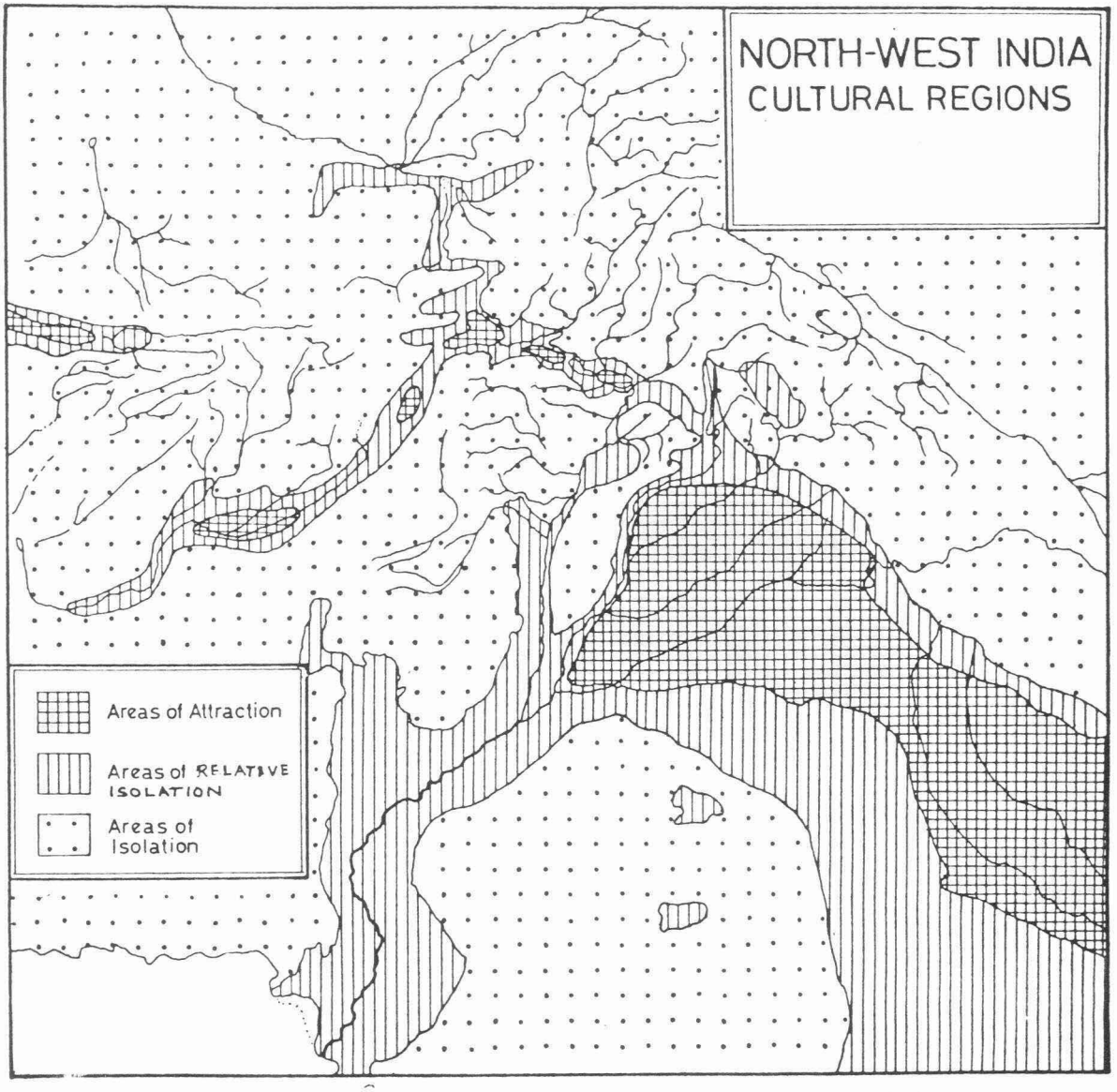
11 O.H.K. Spate, pp. 177-82.

padas in the Puranic literature.

The following regions may be identified as the areas of attraction during the period under study. Starting from the east, most of the Indo-Gangetic plain, consisting of fertile valleys with sufficient rainfall or irrigation facilities and with a network of fairly good transportation lines became the focus of high population concentration. Of this the Gangetic plain (with Delhi-Agra region at its western border), had been the most prominent throughout the Medieval period and was the seat of political power. Spate attaches great importance to the Delhi-Agra axis and recognizes the strategic significance of the Delhi gate, which had more than seven sites - from Indraprasta to New Delhi. To him it was the theatre of the great warfare of the Mahabharata between the Kurus to the west and the Panchala to the east of the 'Yamuna; but at least seven less legendary and more decisive battles have taken place, a few marches north of Delhi, where the great highway from the north western entry, along the well-watered sub-montane Punjab strip, approaches the Yamuna.[12] In fact, the traditional Hindustan becomes accessible only after the Delhi gateway is crossed. (See Map 2.3)

Within this extensive region several civilizations flourished. The Indus Valley civilization, an urban-focussed agricultural civilization, was the most ancient of these. It is believed to have been destroyed by the Aryans who reached the Indus Valley around 1500 B.C. Aryans, subsequently took nearly one thousand years to reach and occupy the Gangetic

12 Ibid., p. 179.


NORTH-WEST INDIA
CULTURAL REGIONS
Areas of Attraction
Areas of RELATIVE ISOLATION
Areas of Isolation

Map 2·3

plain, which was till then thickly forested. After the occupation of these lands by the Aryans, the significance of this region never declined.

The Indus Valley civilization, developed, flourished declined and fell but the importance of the Indus Valley remained supreme.[13] Right from the period of the Indus Velley Civilization, this region has been an area of attraction for the conquerours, traders, empire builders and large agricultural groups.

The Upper Indus Plain or Punjab region also retained its socio-economic significance during the medieval period. It had gradually increased its importance both politically and strategically because of the frequent invasion from the north west. It was open to cultural and political influences from central and south-west Asia and became the stepping stone for the invaders who were to conquer Hindustan. Lahor and Multan, two important urban centres in this region, retained their importance throughout the medieval period. With their strategic location they developed as the leading trading centres of the period.

The entire Punjab was, however, not an area of attraction during the period under study. It had large patches of infertile lands, where agriculture was not possible without irrigation facilities. It is, however, not easy to identify

13 Many scholars attribute the decline of this great civilization mainly to significant changes in the river courses and fall in humidity and rainfall in this region.

these areas of low productivity or of lesser attraction since sufficient information is not available about them. Probably, the areas near the main rivers and their tributaries were more productive and densely populated as compared to the central parts of the Doabs. Eastern Punjab, with a relatively higher rainfall, was also more fertile than its western counterpart.

The Valley of Peshawar may be identified as another area of attraction. Known widely as Gandhara it formed an important region since the ancient times. It is correctly descfibed by Strabo, as lying along the river Kobes or Kabul.[14] Ptolemy also places the Gandaroe in the region lying along the banks of the Kophes (Kabul) immediately above its junction with the Indus.[15] All the Chinese pilgrims unanimously place it to the west of the Indus. The capital which they call Pu-lu-sha-pula or Para-sha-pura is stated to be three or four days journey from the Indus and near the south bank of a large river.[16]

Babar considered Parashawar region as a part of Hindustan, and possibly, Khaiber as the boundary between the Kabul region and Hindustan.[17] Peshawar Valley has been an area of attraction through out the historical past. Though at times,

14 A. Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, p. 40.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Babar, Babar Nama, New Delhi, 1970, p. 200.

due to tribal unrests which rendered the Khaiber route dangerous, this region lost its relative significance.

West of Peshawar Valley, across Khaiber is the Jalalabad region or Nagarahara. It is Nagora of Ptolemy,[18] lying south of Kabul river. Hwen Thsang refers to it as Na-ki-lo-ho,[19] while Babar as Ningnehar, but, mentions that it is sometimes written as Nagarhar in history."[20] During the period between 2nd to the 7th centuries A.D., the Jalalabad region was one of the most sacred spots in the Buddhist world. To this region came countless pilgrims from various parts of the world to worship at its many holy temples.[21] Today the entire Jalalabad Valley is littered with the remains of countless ruins.

The Jalalabad Valley, remained an important region during the medieval period. According to Babar, this region was distinctly different from the Kabul region. He writes, "After descending this pass, another world comes into view, other trees, other plants (or grasses), other animals and other manners and customs of men."[22] These difference in fauna and flora were due to lower altitudes and hence a warmer climate. Abul Fazl refers to a significant climatic change in this region as he mentions that, "Babar states that the snowfall in the direction of Hindustan does not

18 A. Cunningham, p. 37.

19 Ibid.

20 BN, p. 207.

21 N.H. Dupree, Afghanistan, Kabul, 1971, p. 156.

22 BN, p. 208.

pass the crest of Badam Chashmah. This doubtless was the case in those days, but at the present time it extends to the crest of the Nimlah and indeed as far as the Khaibar pass."[23]

This change in climate, might have affected agricultural production adversely. During Babar's time the region was growing good crops of rice and corn, excellent and abundant oranges, citrons and pomegranates.[24] But according to Abul Fazl there were various delightful fruits though agriculture was not very prosperous.[25] These differences, however, may be attributed mainly to the perceptions of Babar and Abul Fazl about a productive region. Babar's seat of power was located in the hilly region of Kabul with limited agricultural production while Akbar's capital was in the fertile Delhi-Agra region. Thus, Abul Fazl found the Jalalabad region relatively less productive as compared to the fertile plains with which he was acquinted.

It will have not be improper to identify Jalalabad or Nagarchar region as an area of attraction although during certain periods this region became unsafe due to political disturbances within it. Not only the fertile valleys of Nagarhara, but also the adjoining valleys of the northern tributaries of the Kabul, with easy communication lines and pleasant climate, may be identified as an area of attraction.

23 Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1949, p. 404.

24 BN, p. 208.

25 Ain, II, p. 405.

Further, west lies Kabul, by far the most important region, west of the Indus. Not only its fertile cultivable land and pleasant climate but its location close to the Trans-Continental communication line joining China with the Indus Valley, where civilization dawned, gave it a very unique position throughout the historical past. During ancient and medieval periods, nearly all the ethnic and cultural groups which entered India, passed through this region. It has been a confluence of various cultural groups - Chinese, Central Asians, Persians, Arabs and of course Indians.

The district of Kabul is first mentioned by Ptolemy, who called the local people Kabolitoe and the capital city as Kabura.[26] Strabo and Pliny had called this city as Ortospana.[27] It is very close to the Sanskrit word Urddhasinana that is the "high place", or lofty city. The Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang also gave the same name to Kabul district. Cunnigham suspects that there has been some accidental interchange of names between the province and the capital.[28]

During the Kushan period Kabul region became very significant. Buddhist missionaries following the caravans along the Silk Route spread Buddhism from its homeland through Kabul region to China and the lands of Far East. However, when decadence sapped the power of both China and Rome and gravely disrupted the trade upon which Kushan prosperity

26 Cunningham, p. 28.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

depended the significance of Kabul region was considerably reduced. During the following centuries it remained under the political control of Sassanian-Samanid, Ghazanavids, Ghorids, Mongols and Timurids, etc. During this entire period although this region was not politically as important as the surrounding territories, it never lost its strategic and economic significance due to its location.

At the time of Babar's conquest, Kabul was an important region, though Babar did not consider it suitable for the production of grain.[29] During this period Kabul became a prominent trading town. "To Kabul caravans came from Kashghar, Farghana, Turkistan, Samarkand, Bukhara, Balkh, Hisar and Badakhshan",[30] mentions Babar. Between 1504 and 1525, Kabul, the city Babar loved, remained the seat of his power, which was growing west of Indus. After the conquest of Hindustan, it became the most important frontier region of the country, and remained so for more than two centuries.

About 85 miles (136 kms) southwest of Kabul city lies Ghazni town which experienced fluctuating fortunes. At times it reached unmatched glories and then suddenly lost most of its significance. In the 7th century, it was a thriving Buddhist centre and at the time of Hwen Thsang's arrival was one of the two capitals of the Kingdom of Arachosia. Ghazni fiercely resisted the advance of an Arab army in 683 A.D. but the town was razed to the ground in

29 BN, p. 203.

30 Ibid.

869 by Yaqub Saffari from Seistan. Subsequently, Yaqub's own brother rebuilt the town which later on became the capital of a powerful empire under Ghazni Kings. The empire then consisted of Kabul, Bost, Balkh, Herat, North-West India upto the Punjab region.

Babar was not really impressed by the town of Ghazni as he considered it as a, "very humble place", and wondered how the, "rulers in whose hands were Hindustan and Khuranant (Khurasan) should have chosen it for their capital."[31] He noted that Ghazni had little cultivated land but found its grapes better than those of Kabul, and melons more abundant. Its apples according to him were very good.[32] Babar mentions that, "Agriculture is very laborious in Ghazni because, whatever the quality of the soil, it must be newly top-dressed every year. It gives a better return, however, the entire crop goes to Hindustan and yields excellend profit to the growers."[33]

With the help of available informations it is clear that like Kabul, Ghazni also remained important mainly due to its location. Ghazni is very close to Kabul and between these two great political centres there is no great physical obstacle to be encountered. So at the time of its glory Ghazni enjoyed all of Kabul's previleges. During the Ghaznavid period, the Tochi formed the shortest connecting link

31 Ibid., p. 219.

32 Ibid., p. 218.

33 Ibid.

between their capital Ghazni and "those plains of India from whence the material financial support of the unstable kingdom has ever been derived."[34]

The position of Kabul and Ghazni is comparable to Delhi and Agra or Lahor and Multan. Though Kabul and Ghazni belong to two different geographical zones, still it will not be inappropriate to call this zone as the Kabul-Ghazni axis. As between Delhi and Agra during the medieval period, the seat of power shifted from Kabul and Ghazni. However, this whole region remained important throughout.

Lying to the south-west of the Kabul-Ghazni axis, outside the Indus basin and in the heart of the Hilmand-Arghandab system is Qandahar, which may also be identified as an area of attraction. Although, early history of Qandahar is shrouded in mystery, still there is little doubt that Alexander followed the Arghandab to the neighbourhood of the modern Qandahar in Arachosia. From Qandahar he took the historica straight high-road to Kabul. The name of Qandahar has not been mentioned in any of the ancient sources but three extremely important Ashoka Rock Edicts have been found near it.[35] During the later period, the region might have been significant not only due to the fact that the best route from Khurasan to India via Kabul passed through it, but also due to the cultivable land available in the valleys

34 T. Holdich, India, New Delhi, 1975, p. 79.

35 L. Depree, Afghanistan, New Jersey, 1973, p. 286.

of the various tributaries of Arghandab and Hilmand. The productivity of the region, however, was restricted by the Registan (desert) lying south of Dori and Arghandab.

The significance of Qandahar, during the Mughal period, increased considerably due to its location between the traditionally Indian Kabul and the Persian Kingdom. Qandahar region in general and the city in particular became more important and prosperous during the 16th and 17th centuries. The Mughals were maintaining a cavalry of 12 to 15 thousand here because the frontiers of Persia were very close. Grain was available here in abundant quantities but was very expensive owing to the presence of crowds of strangers.[36]

Thus we find that most of these areas of attraction remained prominent throughout the historical past due to some distinct physical characteristics and locational factors inherent in them.

2.2.2 Areas of Relative Isolation

The concept of 'Relative Isolation' is rather difficult to explain. In 'areas of relative isolation' as compared to in 'areas of isolation' physical conditions are less defined and more varied. For a better understanding, these areas may be divided into two broad categories on the basis of their physical attributes. Firstly, those areas where conditions are not suitable for settled agriculture but due to their nearness to the areas of attraction or the

36 De Laet, The Empire of the Great Mogal, Delhi, 1975, p. 70.

main communication lines, they remain in contract with more dynamic communities living in the areas of attraction. Secondly, those areas which have sufficient productive lands with suitable climatic conditions for agricultural production but are away from the main communication lines and are usually surrounded by inaccessible regions. Physical conditions in these areas are nearly as good as those of the areas of attraction but communities living in these areas seldom come into close and constant contact with the dynamic communities.

To the first category i.e. areas of relative isolation belong the following regions:

A) Hilly areas, south of the Himalayan complex and north of Upper Indus Plains (Punjab). In these hills, which are close to the plains, the narrow river valleys were occupied by different communities, who, due to their proximity to the areas of attraction, remained in close contact with more dynamic communities of the Punjab plains.

B) The hills of the Peshawar, Jalalabad and Kabul regions, west of the Indus, on either side of the Kabul river but away from the main valley. In these hilly areas there are no significant river valleys with productive soils, and, except for fruit production, they are not suited for settled agriculture. However, due to their nearness to the areas of attraction and main communication lines, they may be identified as the areas of relative isolation. Narrow river valleys of the Panjshir, the Ghorband and the Loghar also fall into this category.

C) The Valley of the Tarnak river and other tributaries of the Hilmand, closer to Qandahar. These areas provide sufficient land for agricultural production but are away from the broad cultivable lands on the foothills.

D) The region, on either side of the Tarnak river upto Ghazni and beyond, along the Kabul-Qandahar route. This region though, not very fertile had remained in contact with a more dynamic culture throughout the period under study and acted as an area of relative isolation.

To the second category of the areas of relative isolation belong the Lower Indus Plains (Sind). There are extensive fertile lands along the Indus river with irrigation facilities. This region produces sufficient food for the inhabitants but is surrounded by inaccessible areas at least on three sides and lies away from the main communication lines. Hence it has remained relatively isolated. In this region one finds an interesting mixture of the new and old cultural trails. It has continuously received waves of new and dynamic cultures, though these new cultures got eventually absorbed in the cultural ethos of the region.

The Valley of Kashmir, is perhaps the best example of the second category of the areas of relative isolation. The land of Kashmir is of such surpassing beauty that it justifies its superlative praises. It is considered to be one of the few regions in the world which never seems to disappoint the expectations it has aroused in its visitors. The valley is flat and fertile with good irrigation facilities. There

is not a single fruit or vegetable that does not grow in its temperate climate. It is reputed for its silk and saffron since a long time.

Spate's observations on Kashmir are worth noting here, "if anywhere on earth presents the semblance of the Happy Valley of Rasselas, it is the Vale of Kashmir, but however, pleasant the prospects, the human history of the region has been less attractive."[37] The human history has been less attractive, mainly due to the location of the Valley away from the main communication lines connecting the areas of attraction. The physical conditions in this valley otherwise have been ideally suitable for the development of an area of attraction.

The contigous areas in the lower Sind region but outside the Indus Basin, e.g. Pashang, Shal (Quetta) and Mashtang also fall in this category. Though, this whole region lies on a high altitude, but, due to many favourable physical attributes, it has been more important and developed than the other hilly areas of the region. It lies close to the Bolan Pass, which was used frequently by armies and merchants to reach Bhakkar or Multan from Qandahar.

Lastly there is a long strip of land between the Sulaiman Range and the Thar Desert, in the Sind Sagar Doab, which though sufficiently productive, lies away from the areas of attraction. North of this strip, across the salt range (on both sides of the Indus) lie the fertile plains of Bannu (west of Indus) and parts of Potwar Plateau (east of

37 Spate, p. II, 438.

Indus). These may also be identified as areas of relative isolation.

2.2.3 Areas of Isolation

It is not really easy to identify the areas of isolation as the concept is a qualitative and a relative one. Moreover, during the period under study, lot of cultural synthesis was taking place and many new areas were brought into the cultural main stream. Still for the present study, certain areas away from the main communication routes and with a rugged terrain, extreme climate, unproductive soils, forested lands, may safely be identified as the areas of isolation. With these extreme physical conditions, these areas have proved to be "negative" for settled agriculture. The primitive technology available here also deterred other economic activities from developing. Thus, the negative physical conditions coupled with the distance from the main communication lines, kept these areas away from any meaningful socio-cultural interaction with the outside world.

Communities which occupied these areas of isolation, not only became economically poor, but also remained in socio-physical isolation for ages. The reasons are obvious. Infertile and unproductive lands did not support agriculture and so the production was insufficient. This resulted in the economic backwardness of the region. These economically backward regions with limited known natural resources, never attracted people from outside. Though, within these areas,

there was a lot of movement, many wars were fought and positions changed. However, due to extreme physical conditions, the socio-physical isolation of the region persisted. Even today these areas are inhabited by economically backward communities.

On the basis of physical conditions the areas of isolation within the North-Western India may be divided into two broad categories:

i) The Mountainous areas with high altitudes, snow covered peaks, rugged terrain and extremely cold climatic conditions, and,

ii) The Desertic areas with sandy soils, high temperatures, strong winds and extremely insufficient rainfall.

To the first category of the areas of isolation belongs the whole of the Northern Mountainous region, excepting the Valley of Kashmir. This extensive mountainous region, as discussed earlier, consists of huge mountain masses with four large mountain ranges, though between them are longitudinal valleys of the Gilgit, the Shyok the Indus and Jhelum. With the exception of the Jhelum Valley, popularly known as the valley of Kashmir, no other valley ever permitted high population concentration due to their narrowness, low temperatures, high altitudes and a great distance from the main communication lines. The surrounding snow covered mountain ranges and the rugged terrain made these river valleys so inaccessible that communities which occupied them remained in isolation. Away from these valleys, life in the mountains was impossible.

Most of the Kabul Basin also belongs to the first category of the areas of isolation. North of the Kabul river, mountainous areas with high altitudes, rugged terrain and narrow gorges, never attracted people from outside in large numbers. The ranges, south of the Hindukush were sufficiently rugged to hinder any meaningful socio-economic interaction from the outside world. As mentioned earlier, all the tributaries of Kabul river, in their upper reaches, had insufficient cultivable lands and so never attracted agricultural communities from outside. South of the Kabul river, on the higher altitudes, the Safed Koh region has also been an area of isolation. This region has been occupied by independent tribal communities and has had a very poor economy.

South of the Safed Koh, upto the Arabian Sea, the area lying west of the Indus is mountainous, with only few broad river valleys. People who lived in these mountains or hills remained in socio-physical isolation. However, their isolation was never as perfect as that of the communities which occupied the Northern Mountainous region. It seems that, throughout the historical past, there was a lot of movement within these areas. However this did not leave any considerable effect on the basic economic structure of these areas. Apart from the plains of Kohat and Bannu, all other areas are hilly, with very little land for agriculture. These areas have been occupied by small tribal groups. Some of the tribal groups became powerful for a brief period and

occupied some fertile plains and became rich, but their own home lands remained economically backward.

Apart from the Ghazni-Qandahar area, most of the northern Hilmand-Arghandab basin belongs to the first category of the areas of isolation. Koh-i-Baba and Hazarajat Mountains were negative for settled agriculture and were never occupied by large agricultural communities. Most probably during the time when the tribal communities established large empires in this region, it must have gained some importance and might have been an areas of relative isolation. However, during the times of the early Mughals, these regions had become true areas of isolation.

Outside the region, areas lying between Kabul and Balkh and Badakhshan are mountainous. The temperatures are very low, soil is infertile and terrain is rugged and bars easy communication. Although throughout the period under consideration these regions were traversed by various communities for different purposes, they were never occupied by them and hence remained areas of isolation.

The Thar desert, which belongs to the second category of the areas of isolation, never attracted people from outside due to obvious reasons. Though, this extensive desert lies outside the region under study, it played a very crucial role in the development of the cultural history of North-West India. Adverse physical conditions, very high temperatures with high diurnal ranges and sandy soil, which without rains is absolutely unproductive, limited the possi-

bilities of human survival only to certain oasis present in this area. Climatic conditions and scarcity of water not only made human existence rather impossible but also made human movements immensely difficult. These difficulties kept the desert people away from any meaningful socio-economic interaction with the outside world and separated the Lower Indus Plain from the Gangetic Plain.

Another desert lies in the heart of Upper Indus Plains and in the Sind Sagar Doab. More than three-fourths of this region is a desert or a semi-desert. The surface is rough, soil is infertile and is covered with shifting sand dunes. The population is naturally sparce. Like the Thar, this desert also has kept the Derajat region away from the rest of the Upper Indus Plain.

Another sandy desert known as Registan lies sough of the Hilmand river. Like other deserts, physical conditions here are not suitable for settled agriculture and human settlement. Though this region lies just to the sough of Qandahar, it never attracted outsiders and remained in isolation. This Registan has its counterpart in the south of Chagai Hills in Baluchistan. In fact, the whole region, south of Hilmand and upto the coast of Arabian Sea had remained an area of isolation.

2.2.4 Distribution of Tribes

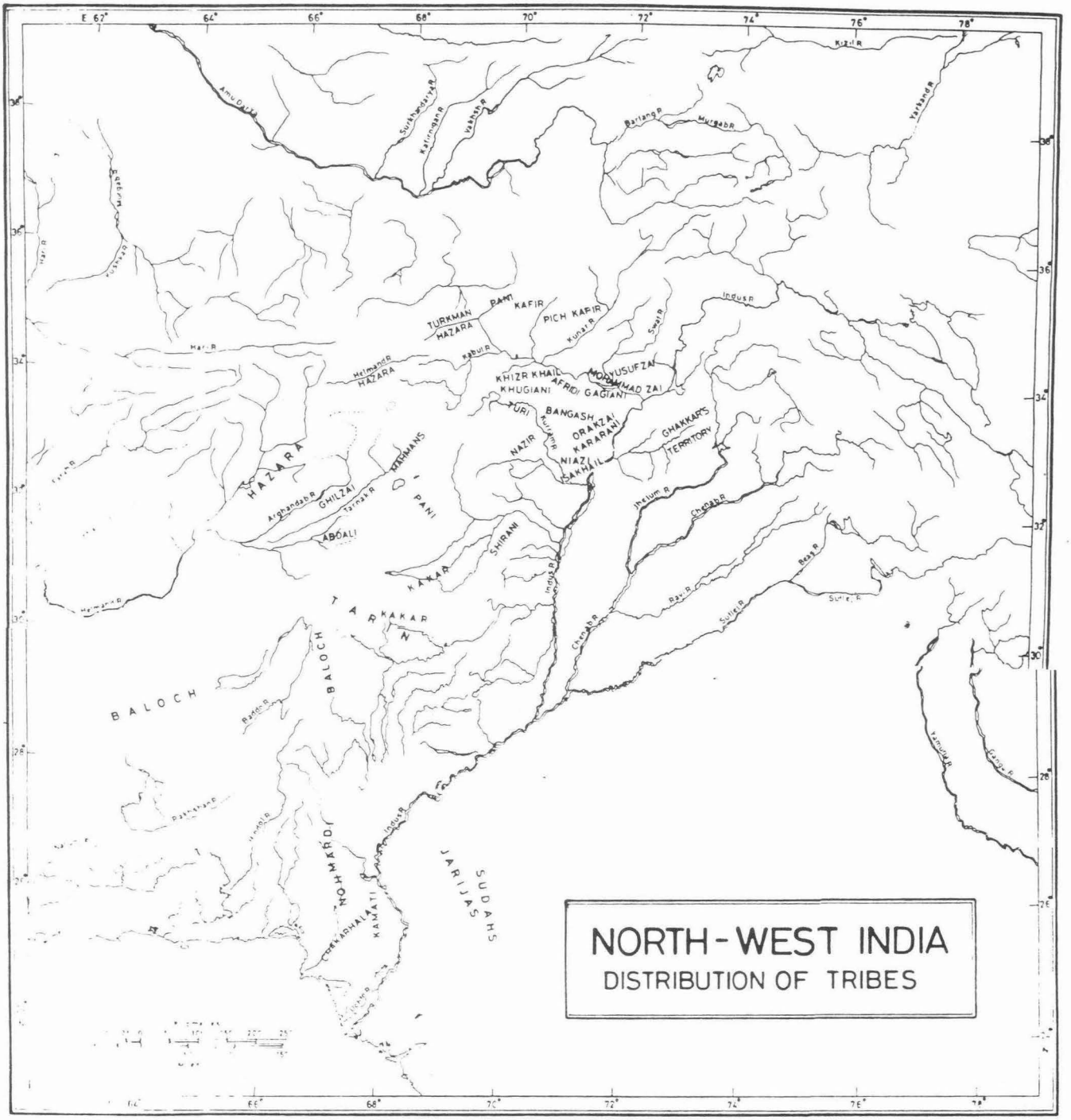
During the period under study tribal identity was quite strong even in the areas of attraction, where several communities lived together. In the areas of isolation, however, tribal groups had their distinct homelands. The reason of concentration of tribal groups in the areas of isolation is quite apparent. Communities which occupied (by force or by option) the negative areas, remained economically backward, physically isolated, politically independent and culturally distinct. On the other hand, their counter-parts, which migrated to the areas of attraction, lost their cultural identity to a great extent and intermingled with the other communities.

The tribal groups, usually, prefer to stay in isolation in their traditional homelands. But at times they are forced to move out of their homelands. The same happened in North-West India. We find that political rivalries or population and economic pressures within a group, compelled a section of certain tribes to move out of their traditional homeland. In most of the cases the occupied another negative area and again lived in isolation. However, certain tribes migrated to the areas of attraction or relative isolation. There are many references to the fact that certain tribal groups were forced to leave their traditional homelands by their powerful neighbours.

It is not difficult to find that within the historical times, certain tribal groups when attained power conquered surrounding territories and at times established great empires by conquering areas of attraction. But in this process they came in the contact of other more culturally dynamic communities living in the areas of attraction and hence in the long run lost their tribal identity to a great extent. The contemporary sources are full of references to all these types of migrations.

The role of tribal groups in structuring the socio-political condition in North-West India cannot be exaggerated, as no ruler could really conquer them. They are found plundering caravans, even at the height of Mughal power, which were passing through the well guarded imperial highway. The tribals were compelled to do this not out of bravery or wickedness but to a great extent out of desperation. Infact these tribals were forced to do these acts as the physical environment of their homelands was so harsh that they were unable to produce the minimum food for their requirements despite all their efforts.

In this section, an attempt has been made to locate the tribal homelands, as they were, during the times of early Mughals (see Map 2·4). This is a difficult exercise. Many of the tribal groups mentioned by Babar and Abul Fazl, are now no more, and it is not possible to locate them. They


NORTH-WEST INDIA
DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES
TURKMAN
HAZARA
PAMI
KAFIR
PICH KAFIR
KHIZR KHAIL
KHUGIANI
AFRIDI
GAGIANI
MOHAMMAD ZAI
YUSUFZAI
YURI
BANGASH
ORAKZAI
KARARANI
NAZIR
NIAZI
KHAIL
GHAKKARS
TERRITORY
HAZARA
GHILZAI
MAHMANS
DI PANI
ABDALI
KAKAR
SHIRANI
TARKAKAR
BALOCH
BALOCH
MOHMAND
KAMALTI
JARIJAS
SUDAHS
Amu Dar.
Kabul R.
Helmand R.
Indus R.
Jhelum R.
Chenab R.
Ravi R.
Sutlej R.
Kurram R.
Gomal R.

Map 2.4

have lost their tribal identity in due course of time. Most of the important tribal are, however, still there, though some of them have migrated en-masse to other areas or have changed their names.

An attempt has been made in this section to understand the processes and causes of the tribal movement in the region. To trace their areas of origin we have briefly discussed their genealogies. In this region, we found tribals of at-least four distinct ethnic origin. The most important of them being Pathans, occupying nearly the whole suba of Kabul, west of Indus; the Hazaras of Mongol origin in the sarkar of Kabul and Qandahar; the Baluch and Rajput tribes occupying the hilly and desertic fringes of Thatta region. For a better understanding of the tribal regions all the tribal groups have been discussed separately.

2.2.4.1 Yusufzai

Yusufzais are regarded as the truest and finest exponents of the Afghan way of life.[38] Their history after the occupation of the Swad region is full of courage, determination and that of valour. But prior to this we found them moving out of their home to occupy other areas and then leaving them, after defeat. According to various chronicles Yusufzais, the leading sect in the Khahay tribal confederacy

38 Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, London, 1965, p. 14.

arrived in Peshawar valley having set out from the neighbourhood of Qandahar and journeyed by way of Kabul.[39]

Abul Fazl mentions about the Yusufzai migration in these words: "From there[40] [Qandahar and Qarabagh] they came to (the district of) Kabul and became powerful."[41] This migration from an area with limited resources to a more resourceful area might have been due to power attained by the Yusufzais.[42] In fact, Yusufzais were instrumental in raising Mirza Ulugh Beg to the throne of Kabul. Initially they were treated by the king with great distinction[43] but perhaps due to their independent attitude "M. Ulugh Beg Kabuli massacred them by strategem."[44] According to Abul Fazl, those who survived "took refuge in the Lamghanant."[45] After that they settled in Hashtnagar.[46]

39 Mountstuart Elphinstone, Kingdom of Caubul, Vol. II, (First Edition 1815), Karachi, 1972, p. 9; Caroe, p.169.

40 According to Caroe the "actual starting points given are Nushki, Mukur and Garah, said to have been their original habitat in the neighbourhood of Kandahar." The Pathans, p. 169.

41 Abul Fazl, Akbar Nama, Vol. III (Reprint) Delhi, 1973, p. 715.

42 But Elphinstone thinks otherwise as he mentions that "They were expelled from Garra and Nashky about the end of the thirteenth century or beginning of fourteenth century" Kingdom of Caubul, p. 9.

43 Elphinstone, II, p. 10.

44 AN, III, p. 715.

45 Ibid., p. 716.

46 Ibid.

According to Abul Fazl, the Yusufzais migrated to the Sind region in the fifteenth century as he mentions that, "It is nearly one hundred years that they settled in Swad and Bajour."[47] At the time of Yusufzai arrival, the Swad and Hashtnagar area was occupied by Sultani[48] and Dilazak[49] tribes. Yusufzais, initially served the earlier settlers of the region but later on took possession of the choice lands of the region.[50] Abul Fazl, found some of the earlier inhabitants in the same region as he mentions that "upto the present day some of the former inhabitants spend their days in distress in the defiles and from love for their native land are unable to leave."[51]

In the tribal chronicles the Sultanis are referred to as Dehgans (villagers) and have been mentioned as occupying the Hashtnagar with Dilazaks. These Dehgans were subject to the Sultans of Swad, who had their capital at Manglor.[52] It is possible, with the help of the above information, to suggest that at the time of Yusufzai arrival in this area, Bajaur region was predominently occupied by Dilazaks, while

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid. Elphinstone, II, p. 11; Caroe, p. 175.

49 BN, p. 367; Elphinstone, II, p. 11; Caroe, p. 175.

50 AN, III, p. 716.

51 Ibid.

52 Caroe, p. 175.

in the Swad region another tribe was living and was ruled over by Sultans.

Yusufzai was perhaps the must important tribal group of this region during the period undersstudy. Babar married a Yusufzai lady perhaps to establish good relations with this strong tribe,[53] but it hardly helped in improving the relations between Mughals and Yusufzais. Abul Fazl, mentions about the Yusufzais and their territory quite often as this tribe created many problems for the administrators. Description of Yusufzai homelands however, are generally vague and incorrect. According to Abul Fazl the Yusufzais had their strougholds"in the hill country of Swad and Bajaur /but/ many of them live in the plains."[54] Regarding the extent and boundaries of Yusufzai homelands he further mentions "Indus surrounds them on two sides. On the two other sides they have Kabul river and the northern hill country. The length of their country is 30 kos, and breadth 15-20. There are delightful valleys and beautiful tracts."[55]

53 About his marriage with the Yusufzai lady Bibi Mubarikah Baber mentions "In order to conciliate the Yusufzai h , I have asked for a daughter of one of my well wisherss Malik Sulaiman Shah" BN, p. 375.

54 AN, III, p. 717.

55 Ibid. The statement that "Indus surrounds them on two sides" is incorrect. In fact, Indus river lies on the east of Buner district of Swad region. Though Buner district of Swad has been mentioned separately by Abul Fazl, but nowhere he mentions about Yusufzais as living in this region. So it is difficult to know that whether like other district of Swad (Bajaur and Swad) Buner was also occupied by Yusufzais or not.

The inaccurate and insufficient geographical knowledge of the Mughal army lead to their humiliating defeat in this region. As mentioned earlier the hills of Swat and Bajaur were not suitable for settled agriculture and thus the Yusufzais found it necessary to occupy the plains of Samah and Hashtnagar. The occupance of fertile Samah and Hashtnagar regions created problems for the Mughals, ruling Delhi and Kabul. It not only deprived the Mughal officers to get revenue from these region but the Yusufzais also started attacking the caravans which used to pass through Khaibar pass. This was a real threat to the rulers. According to Abul Fazl, "They had caused much injury to traffic and intercourse. The Kabul rulers had not the strength to chastise them and the rulers of India on account of pressure of other business .. had not attended this matter."[56]

Akbar tried to punish them, but in the process thousands of soldiers of the army including great scholar and Akbar'sfavourite Birbal were killed. This defeat of the strong imperial army may be attributed primarily to the difficult topography of Yusufzai lands and the ignorence of the commanders of the geography of the region. The relations between the Mughals and the Yusufzais may be summed up by saying that the Yusufzais were attacked, killed and may be crushed but never ruled over effectively by the kings of India or Kabul. Their hilly lands, might not have been fer-

56 AN, III, p. 733.

tile enough to provide them sufficient food but its topography protected them from any permanent danger from outside.

2.2.4.2 Muhammadza

North of Kabul river, in the Swad region the Muhammadzais have also been living with the Yusufzais. The relationship between these two tribal groups had been very interesting as both of them occupied their present homelands simultaneously, in the fifteenth century. They are not closely related to each other, although they had a common great grand-father, Kharshbun.[57] It is believed that Muhammadzais joined the Yusufzais when the latter were on the move after their massacre in the Kabul region.[58]

Yusufzais and their clients Muhammadzais moved towards Ningrahar. Leaving Muhmaddazai in Ningrahar for the time being, the Yusufzais, proceeded in extreme distress towards Peshawar by the Khaibar route. But after conquering the whole Swad region (Swad, Bajaur and Buner) and Hashtnagar, the Yusufzais assigned Hashtnagar to Muhammadzais.[59] If we

57 According to Caroe, Kharshbun or Krishyun who was the son of Sarbanr had three sons, Kand, Zamand and Kasi. Kand got two sons, Ghorish and Khakhay, Yusufzais are descendents of Khakhay. Muhammadzais on the other hand are descendents of Zamand. The Pathans, pp. 12-13.

58 Caroe, p. 175. About the original homelands of Muhammadzais, much is not know, possibly they belonged to the region south of Kabul and north of Qandahar.

59 Caroe, p. 178; Elphinstone, II, p. 46.

consider the present physical conditions it will be rather difficult to explain how and why the Yusufzais assigned the fertile lands of Hashtnagar to Muhammadzai who were less numerous and weak as compared to Yusufzais and Doaba to Gigianis, who supported Ulag Beg against Yusufzais, earlier.[60]

One can think of two possible reasons for this generous allotment by Yusufzais. It is possible that after their massacre in Kabul, the Yusufzais were interested in some strategically safe areas, which they found in the hills of Swad, Bajaur and Buner. The exposed regions in the plains they allotted to Muhammadzais and Gigianis. On the other hand probably, the Hashtnagar area was not under extensive cultivation at that time. Thus the Yusufzais, assigned Hashtnagar to Muhammadzai at the time when it was not safe for them. Moreover it was not as well cultivated as today.

Though during Babar's period, the tribal pattern was beginning to assume the present shape[61] which it holds today - Gigianis were in the Doaba, the Muhammadzais in Hashtnagar while Yusufzais were houding hills of Swad, Bajaur and Buner and some of them were in the plains.[62] But it was only

60 Caroe, p. 175.

61 Babar found Muhammadzais in Hashtnagar living with Yusufzais as he mentions "march along the Ambahar and Pani-mani road, cross the Swad-water above Hash-nagar and surprise the Yusufzai and Muhammadi Afghans who are located in the plain over against the Yusufzai sangur of Muhura." BN, p. 376.

62 Caroe, p. 178.

after the Katlang battle (which probably was fought in 1525) and the expulsion of the Dilazaks from the region, the permanent distribution of land took place, perhaps in the year 1530.[63]

According to certain sources this area was brought under extensive cultivation only during Akbar's time. If it hence correct to assume that this region might have been under the full control of the king at that time. As mentioned earlier Akbar tried to control the activities of the tribals of this region, because the important (Khaibar-pass route) passed through it. It seems that the Muhammadzai, were generally able to pay the revenue imposed upon them, since the region they occupied had become quite productive. Abul Fazl describes the occasional disloyality of Muhammadzais in the following words: "As there were no chosen troops there, the Gagiyani tribe and Muhammadzai tribe who had been always loyal, joined with Tariki s and Yusufzais, and proceeded to hunt Muhammad Quli Turkman, who was in Begram in order they might get possession of the whole region."[64] Mughal troops, however, controled their rebellion easily as for them confrontation with the Mughal was neither necessary nor possible - as they were living in the fertile plain region with easy communicational lines.

63 Ibid., p. 183.

64 AN, III, pp. 956-957.

2.2.4.3 Giagiani (Gagiani)

The Gigianis like the Yusufzais are also Khakhay Khel. Both of them supported the Ulugh Beg and raised him to the throne of Kabul.[65] But when Ulugh Beg resolved to get rid of Yusufzai, he created differences between them.[66] At the time of Yusufzai massacre the Gigianis supported the king and so remained in Kabul region for some time.[67] They are said to have been expelled from the neighbourhood of Kabul by the king Babar.[68] During the times of Babar they were still on the move. From Kabul region Gigianis came to Ningrahar and remained there for some time and then moved on to Peshawar region.[69]

The migration of the Gigianis from Ningrahar to Peshawar region was due to the movement of the other main Kharshbun clan, the Ghoriah Khel[70] who themselves found things too hot in the Mukur-Qandahar area.[71] The Gigianis found

65 Caroe, p. 173.

66 Ibid., p. 174.

67 Ibid., p. 175.

68 Elphinstone, II, p. 13.

69 Babar found them in this region as he mentions "At this time the Gigianis Afghans were located in Peshawar but in dread of our army had drawn off to the skirt of hills." BN, p. 230.

70 The main sections of Ghoriah Khel according to Caroe are "the Khalils Mohamands and Daudzais." The Pathans, p. 177.

71 "The rule of the Timuid house was breaking down and local power was passing to the Tarins" Caroe, p. 177.

Ghorish Khel, Mohmands too much for them and so ultimately, sent their elders to seek pardon from the Yusufzais.[72] To strengthen the Khakhay confederacy they were pardoned and assigned Doaba region. This explains why the Gigianis supported the Yusufzais at the time of their conflict with the army of Akbar.[73]

2.2.4.4 Dilazak

Due to lack of authentic information about the tribal scene of the region, the Dilazak tube is shrouded in mystry. Geneologically speaking Dilazaks are Karlanri[74] as are the Orakzais and Utman Khels.[75] Though many do not consider them Afghans or Pathans but Babar refers to them, more than once and he calls them Afghans.[76] According to some tribal chronicles Dilazaks had moved into Peshawar from Ningrahar and the west,[77] some centuries before Babar arrived to this region.

The first time, when Babar reached Swad region, Dilazaks had already lost most of their lands in that region to

72 Caroe, p. 178.

73 AN, III, p. 957.

74 Caroe, p. 21.

75 Ibid., pp. 21, 175.

76 BN, pp. 376-377, 394, 412-413.

77 Caroe, p. 176.

Yusufzais. At the time of Babar's first visit to Peshawar in 1505 in connection with the conquest of Hindustan it seems that Dilazaks still had some power in the region. Babar mentions that Darya Khan's son Yar-i-husain made a petition, saying "If royal orders were given for me the Dilazaks, the Yusufzai, and the Gigiani, these would not go far from my orders if I called up the Padshah's swords on the other side of the water of Sind."[78]

This shows that the Dilazaks were still in possession of certain areas in the region. On the other hand like the Yusufzais and Gigianis they also were interested in keeping Babar away from the Swad region by offering their support, if he chose to conquer Hindustan. But it seems that the situation changed altogether for Dilazaks at the time of Babar's subsequent visit to this region in 1519. Dilazaks were, now, on the side of Babar and were sent by the king to negotiate with the Sultan of Bajaur.[79] The became as Babar's advisers, and possibly to serve their own interest they advised the king to attack Yusufzai and Muhammadzai Afghans in Hashtnagar.[80] They were hoping, that the king will possibly award them the Hashtnagar area in return for their losses.[81]

78 BN, p. 231.

79 Ibid., p. 367.

80 Ibid., p. 376.

81 Caroe, p. 179.

Dilazaks also served in Babar's army when the king went to conquer Bhira and Khusha-ab regions and were awarded for that.[82] During the same journey, Babar was offered 10 sheep, two ass-loads of rice and eight large cheeses by a Dilazak Afghan of Yaqub Khail.[83] Though it is not possible to locate Yaqub Khail but it is clear that by this time Dilazaks were living mainly in the Peshawar region - south of the Kabul river.[84]

It seems that during the reign of Akbar, the Dilazaks became even less significant as there is no mention of them in Swat and Peshawar regions in Akbar Nama. However, according to Ain, they were dominent in the Tuman of Alsai.[85] According to some tribal chronicles Kamran who was eager to strengthen his frontiers against his brother Humayun supported the Khalils and Mohmands and helped them in driving out Dilazaks even from the south Kabul river. In fact Dilazaks were driven across the Indus river.[86]

There are reference to show that Dilazaks were living east of Indus during the times of Akbar and even Jahangir. Abul Fazl mentions about Dilazaks as living in the Sindh

82 BN, p. 394.

83 Ibid.

84 After the Khakhy settlement (1530) north of the Kabul river in Dilazaks are recorded to have been still in possession of all the valley territory south of that river, extending from the Khaibar pass as far as Khairabad on the Indus.

85 Ain, II, p. 414.

86 Caroe, p. 186.

Sagar Doab. He mentions that Manikzhala "is a seat of the Dilazaks."[87] In the Ain they are referred to as a dominent caste in Hazara Qarlung (in the Sarkar of Sindh Sagar Doab of Lahor) pargana.[88] Jahangir found Dilazaks between Hasan Abdal and Attock in the village of Amrohi and its neighbourhood. According to him "there are 7,000 or 8,000 households of Khaturs and Dalazaks"[89] in the village and its neighbourhood. He also mentions that he ordered his officers that they should march all the Dalazaks to Lahore by the time of the return of the royal standards from Kabul.[90] This was done because they were engaged in all kinds of mischief and oppression and highway robbery. This was carried to Jahangir's satisfaction[91] and Dilazaks lost their identity for ever.

2.2.4.5 Mohmand

Mohmands, like Dilazaks and Gigianis moved away from the region where Babar found them. Like Yusufzais they are the descendents of Kand, son of Kharshbun. Kand had two sons, Khakhay and Ghoriah. Mohmands belong to Ghoriah Khel while

87 AN, III, p. 853.

88 Ain, II, p. 328.

89 Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. II, Delhi, 1968, p. 126.

90 TJ, I, p. 100.

91 Ibid., p. 127.

Yusufzais, Gigianis etc. belong to Khakhay Khel.[92] As has already been mentioned, according to tradition the tribes of the Ghoriah Khel confederacy, came from the neighbourhood of Qandahar.[93] When Mohmand (with their cousins, Khalils and Daudzais) found their original homelands unlivable, due to some significant political changes in the region,[94] they moved north in the footsteps of Khakhay and some of them pushed into Ningrahar.[95]

Mohmands, were lying in the region south-east of Ghazni at the time of Babar's expedition against the Ghilzai Afghans, in 1507. When Babar reached Sar-i-dih "news was brought that a mass of Mohmands (Afghans) was lying in Masht and Sih-Kana one yighach (circa 5 m.) away"[96] from than. Against the wishes of his advisers Babar did not attack them. But next year a body of Mohmand Afghans was over run near Muqur.[97]

Apart from the region between Ghazni and Qandahar, Babar mentions that Mohmands were widely scattered in the Kabul region[98] but it is highly probable that by this time

92 Caroe, pp. 12-13, 169, 177 etc.

93 Ibid., p. 169.

94 The rule of Timurid house was breaking down, and local power was passing into the hands of Tarins. It is to be noted that Abdalis (Durranis) at that time were counted as Tarins.

95 Caroe, p. 178.

96 BN, p. 323.

97 Ibid., p. 345.

98 Ibid., p. 221.

they did not arrive in the Peshawar region. It was only during the period of Humayun's exile that Kamran established Mohmands and Khalils in the Peshawar region.[99] In 1551 they even staged a fierce night attack on Humayun's camp in Ningrahar, though they were defeated in this attempt.

We found Mohmands well established in the Peshawar region during the times of Akbar. According to Abul Fazl, Mohamands with Ghoris had 10,000 households in Peshawar.[100] They complained against the Yusufzais and Mandonr Yusufzais when Akbar reached Attock.[101] But later on they joined hands with their neighbours and made Jalala as their leader. They even attacked and killed the fief holder of Peshawar Saiyid Hamid Bokhari. But for this, even Abul Fazl, considers Hamid Bokhari himself responsible who left the work of administration in the hands of Musa. "Musa from avarice pressed heavily on those tribes, and stretched out his hand against their property and their honour"[102] mentions Abul Fazl.

It seems that these circumstances forced the Mohmands to join hands with the supporters of Jalala and made a commotion near Bikram. However, with the decrease of the powers of the supporters of Jalala in the Peshawar region, Mohmands again became obedient to the king of Hindustan.

99 Elphinstone II, p. 46, Caroe, p. 194.

100 AN, III, p. 777.

101 Caroe, p. 212.

102 AN, III, p. 777.

2.2.4.6 Afridi

Genealogically, Afridis like Dilazaks, Orakzais and Khattaks are Karlari.[103] The Afridis have their tradition of an admixture of Greek blood.[104] There is no reference to show that Afridis had migrated from any other region to the Khaibar area during historical times. Babar found Afridis in Bara, near Khaibar region. He was advised to attack them as "they had grown a mass of corn which was still standing."[105] But Babar showed no interest and attacked Khizr Khel instead.[106]

There are various references to Afridis in Akbar Nama, mainly in connection with the Roshaniyya, better known as Tariki, movement. The leader of the movement, Jalala had many followers among the Afridis and he was given shelter by Afridis and Urakzais.[107] Though Afridis were not able to face the imperial army but again and again they sided with Tarikis. Akbar was forced to send strong armies to crush the Afridis.[108] as they were lying near the most important Khaibar pass route. Obviously Akbar was interested in a permanent settlement of the problem of revolt in this part

103 Caroe, p. 14.

104 Ibid.

105 BN, p. 412.

106 Ibid., p. 413.

107 AN, III, p. 795.

108 Ibid., pp. 810, 928, 983 etc.

of empire to keep a continuous contact with Kabul. With the help of numerous references to Afridis in Akbar Nama it is possible to say that it seems that Afridis were kept under control by the Mughal armies only by using force, otherwise they were too independent and could not be easily subjugated.

2.2.4.7 Orakzai

Orakzais like Afridis are Karlanri. They are desendents of Koday from his first wife, while Afrids are from Koday's second wife.[109] Orakzai, like Afridis is a Khaibari tribal group. Though there is no direct reference to the Orakzai homelands in Babar Nama but Babar mention that "Mulla Apaq" had brought them (his people) in (to me), together with the Auruq-zai and other Afghans of the banks of the Sind."[110] However there is no doubt that Orakzai than (as now) were settled, south of Safed Koh, below the Afridi region. The main concentration of Orakzais was in south Tirah region[111] though they were also living in the Tumans of Bangash[112] and Kohat.[113]

There are various references to Orakzais in Akbar Nama[114] showing that they were close associates of the Afri-

109 Caroe, pp. 20- 21.

110 BN, p. 526.

111 Caroe, p. 21.

112 Ain, II, p. 411.

113 Ibid.

114 AN, III, pp. 795, 810, 928 etc.

dis. As mentioned earlier, like the Afridis they also supported the Tariki movement and gave shelter to Jalala and his supporters. In fact they were in better position to help Tarikis as they were lying away from the main communication line and so were less fearful of the imperial army. Their revolts against Akbar in support of Jalala have already been mentioned while discussing the Afridi revolts. Orakzais are said to have supported the Tariki movement after the death of Jalala also. The leadership of Tariki sect had gone to his nephew Ihdad on Allahabad who has been incorrectly mentioned by Jahangir as the son of Jalala.[115] They were crushed by the Jahangir forces, for the time being.

2.2.4.8 Khattak

Khattaks are descended from Luqman, the grandson of Karlanri of the Sarban branch of the Pathans.[116] Khattaks, with Khalils are the only important tribes of the region which were not mentioned by Babar. Babar, however, refers to Kurani (Kerrani) tribe who with Kiwi, Sur Isa Khail and Niazai was cultivating Bannu lands.[117] It is possible that Babar was referring to Khattaks or Shitakas or both as they are Karlanri tribes.[118] Babar refers to other Karlanri

115 TJ, II, p. 85.

116 Caroe, p. 21; Gazetteer of the NW Frontier, Vol. II, p. 906.

117 BN, p. 233.

118 Caroe, p. 39.

tribe; Wazir and Bangash by name.

It was only during the times of Akbar that we first hear of the Khattaks. It is believed that when Akbar arrived in Attock, one of the Pathan Maliks who presented himself was a certain Akoray. Man Singh and other officers recommended him to the king and mentioned that if the king encouraged Akoray, he with his supporters could guard the Khaibar route for the king. Akoray was summoned and agreed to this commission in return for a jagir of the country from a point a few miles south of Attock bridge as far as the modern Nowshera. He also received the right to collect the tolls from this road.[119]

Akoray immediately founded the small town of Akora on the south bank of the Landai river to demonstrate his newly acquired position.[120] There are records to suggest that it was only at this time that Khattaks came from the direction of Teri in the Kohat district (where Akoray himself had lands) to settle down between Attock and Nowshera. It is possible that this assumption was made with the object of explaining why we hear of no Khattaks before Akbar's time.[121]

There is a problem to except the hypothesis that Khattaks were new comers to this region. Guarding kings highway was not a service which could be performed by tribesmen

119 Ibid., pp. 211-212.

120 Ibid., p. 212.

121 Ibid.

lacking local knowledge. So it is also possible that they were Dilazaks,[122] a long established tribe, suffering no doubt from the Yusufzai aggression, and ready to accept Akbar's commission which would enable them to resist further encroachment. But one can not be sure of this, without any concreate information.

2.2.4.9 Turi

There are various theories about the origin of Turis. According to one of them, Turis are the descendents of Turkman.[123] This theory is justified mainly by pointing to the similarity of the tribal name Turi and the appellation Turani. This theory is supported by Raverty. But Caroe doubts its validity.[124] He has two reasns. Firstly, Turis live in a broad and fertile valley, in the centre of all the Karlanris - Afridis and Orakzais to their north-east, and Khataks, Bangash and Wazirs to their south and south-west. Secondly and more importantly the Turis, unlike the Ghaljis, have no appearance of Turkish antecedents. Caroe

122 The tribal chronicles, we know, speak only of Dilazaks in this region. According to Caroe "It is far more likely that the Khattaks are the people who in this context the chronicles like to call Dilazaks. Like the Dilazaks they too are Karlanris, like them they too fought with Yusufzais". Caroe, p. 191.

123 Caroe, p. 124.

124 Ibid.

rightly considers Turi/Khugianis/Zazis (Jajis), Karlanri Pathans like the Afridi and Khattaks.

Babar refers to Turis in connection with the Tuman of Bangash. "Bangash is another tuman. All round about it are Afghans highway men, such as the Khugiani, Khirilchi, Turi and Landar."[125] Babar includes in Bangash all the lands bounded on the north by the Safed Koh (which he specifies) down to Bannu, hence covering the country now occupied by Khattaks of Teri.[126]

2.2.4.10 Khugiani

Khugiani, genealogically are similar to the Turis - both being Karlanris. Like Turis they are the decendents of Khugi, son of Koday.[127] Babar includes them in the list of tribals, living close to the Bangash region. "All round it (Bangash) are Afghan highway men, such as the Khugiani, Khirilchi, Turi and Landar."[128] Babar does not mentions about the exact area in which they live. But he mentions that as these tribal groups are "lying out of the way ... (they) do not pay taxes willingly."[129] But at another place,

125 BN, p. 220.

126 Caroe, p. 157.

127 Ibid., p. 21.

128 BN, p. 220.

129 Ibid.

where he refers to Khugianis, he provides a better idea about their location. "... we marched from Jagdalik, the Afghans located between it and Lamghan, such as the Khizr-Khail, Shimu-Khail, Khirilchi and Khugiani, thought of blocking the pass."[130] This brings us closer to their present homeland in Ningnihar.

Safed Koh, demarcates the boundary between Bangash and Ningnihar. Khugianis occupy lands on the north-western slopes of Safed Koh. To their south, across the highest reaches of Safed Koh, live their cousins Turis.

2.2.4.11 Shirani

Shiranis are generally considered as of the Ghurghusht branch of Pathans, though they belong to Sarbanris branch.[131] In fact, Shirani married a Kakar woman and, according to tribal custom had to break all his relations with Sarbanris and joined the Ghurghusht branch (of his wifes). Shiranis live next to the Kakars.[132]

Abul Fazl, who considers them as Sarbanris,[133] locate

130 Ibid., p. 341.

131 Caroe, pp. 12, 20.

132 According to Caroe "It is contrary to Pathan custom to marry outside the tribe... If and when this is done, the foreign bridgroom is expected to cast in his lot with his wife's tribe, as did the Sheranis who live next door to the Kakars." The Pathans, p. 20.

133 Ain, II, p. 407.

them in the Sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel.[134] Their main concentration, however, has been to the south of the Sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel, between Gomal and Vihoa torrents. Great part of their country is occupied by the lofty mountain of Takht-i-Sulaiman, and the hills which surround its base.[135] Many parts of their territory were nearly inaccessible. The principle occupation of Shiranis is agriculture, which is carried on in the narrow river valleys.

2.2.4.12 Waziri

Waziris, like Afridis and Orakzais are Karlanris Pathans, but they are the descendents of Kakay: Sulaiman son of Kakay had two sons, Wazir and Malikmir. Waziris are the descendents of Wazir while Bangash are the descendents of Malikmir.[136] Some of the important branches of Waziri Pathans are, Utmanzai, Ahmadzai, Mahsud, and Gurbaz.

The extensive country of the Waziris lies to the north of that of the Shirani and stretches northwards upto Safed Koh. The greater part of their territory (now known as Waziristan) consists of mountains covered with pine forests, but contains some cleared and cultivated spots. The lower hills are bare or only covered with bushes and low trees.[137]

134 Ibid., p. 399.

135 Elphinstone, II, p. 73.

136 Caroe, p. 20.

137 Elphinstone, II, p. 79.

Due to more or less complete physical isolation of their lands they had very little contact with the outside world. Economically, they remained backward and hardly paid revenue to Mughal Kings. However, when Babar punished Khizr-Khail in 1519, Waziris also brought 300 sheeps as a tribute.[138] Abul Fazl, refers to Waziris as a leading tribe of the Sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhail.[139]

2.2.4.13 Khizr Khail

The Khizr-Khail Afghans present, perhaps, the most serious problem of identification. It is not possible to find any reference to Khizr Khail in some of the most authentic studies of the tribes of this region.[140] No doubt that there was a tribal group known as Khizr Khail which was scattered over a large territory, during the period under study. Both Babar[141] and Abul Fazl[142] refer to them.

Perhaps the ommission of Khizr Khail from the list of tribes of this region, prepared by Caroe, is due to his incomplete knowledge of the descendents of Wazir. He considers,

138 BN, p. 413.

139 Ain, II, p. 399.

140 Both Caroe and Elphinstone, conspicuously avoid mentioning even the name of Khizr Khail.

141 BN, p. 413.

142 Ain, II, p. 411.

Musa, Mahmud and Mubarak as the sons of Wazir[143] though according to other sources they were the sons of Khizri and grandsons of Wazir.[144] The other son of Wazir was Lali. If this information is correct than it may be considered probable that the descendents of Musa (Utmanzai and Ahmadzai) Mahmud (Mahsul) and Mubarak (Gurbuz) might have been known, during the period under study with a common name - Khizr Khail.

In support of this conjecture, it may be pointed out that Babar in his detailed description of the tribal groups nowhere refers to Utmanzai, Ahmadzai, Mahsud and Gurbaz - the most important branches of the Wazirs. Abul Fazl, only refers to Utmankhail (Utmanzai) as serving the imperial army in Bangash.[145] Babar refers to Khizr-Khails as having "their seat from Bahar (Vihara?) and Mich-gram to Kara-su."[146-147] When they were raided "a few tribesmen, being near the mountains,[148] drew off to them and were left",[149] mentions Babar. It appears that the Khizr Khails like many other tribal

143 Caroe, p. 21.

144 Gazetteer - V, p. 2053.

145 Ain, II, p. 411.

146 This region lies on the northern slopes of Safed Koh mountain, in the Ningnihar tuman.

147 BN, p. 413.

148 Probably the mountain which has been referred to is Safed Koh.

149 BN, p. 413.

groups, were in the process of settling down during this time. But in settling down they acquired a different name and hence we are unable to keep track of them.

2.2.4.14 Niazi/Isakhel

Niazis are the Lodi Pathans, descendents of Bibi Mato, daughter of Bitan Lodis are not considered full Pathans as their father was not a Pathan. Ibrahim Lodi had three sons, Niaz, Siani and Dotan. Niazis are the descendents of Niaz, while Lodis and Surs who established dynasties in Delhi are the descendents of Siani.[150] The main sections of the Niazi are Isakhel and the Sumbals.[151]

About Niazi settlements, there is no confusion. They were living in the region, where they are living now. Babar, in 1505, found Niazis and Isa-Khail, with other groups, cultivating Bannu lands.[152] Niazi is a settled tribe living on both the banks of the Indus, in the neighbourhood of Kalabagh.

The kingdom of Sher Shah Suri at Delhi just touched the Indus only east of Bannu, where they succeeded after much trouble in extending their rule over the Niazis in

150 Caroe, p. 15.

151 Ibid., p. 145.

152 BN, p. 233.

what is now Isakhel.[153] Abul Fazl, refers to Niazis as living on the eastern side of Indus. "When they reached the Indus near Sambala Zangi K. and other heads of Niejazi clan - who had their home near there - joined the victorious army. The latter crossed at the Copara ferry and reached the villages of the Isakhel."[154]

2.2.4.15 Kakar

Genealogically, Kakars are Ghurghusht Pathans. The family tree of Ghurghusht, is shorter[155] and most of the tribes belonging to this section of Pathans occupy the most negative lands which were lying far from the main communication lines. Among them, Kakars are by far the most important group, scattered over a large area. Kakars are "extending in a belt of varying breadth in a north-easterly direction from the Quetta district to the village of Manji on the banks of the Guwal, on the frontier of the Dera Ismail Khan district, a distance of about 250 miles as the crow flies."[156]

This wide spread territory of Kakars was hardly known to Babar, that is why, there is no reference to Kakars in Babar Nama. This area was hardly of any consequence to Akbar

153 Caroe, pp. 139-196.

154 AN, III, p. 194.

155 Caroe, p. 19.

156 Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 810.

too and so possibly no significant effort was ever made to conquer the lands of Kakar. Most of the Qandahar Sarkar was under a very loose Mughal control. Abul Fazl, refers to Kakars as living in the Duki Territory[157] of Sarkar of Qandahar - though their settlements were spread over the territories lying towards the north.

2.2.4.16 Tarin

Tarins, the descendents of Sharkbun, son of Sarbanr[158] are divided into two distinct branches, viz., Tor (Black) Tarins and Spin (while) Tarins.[159] In the identification of Tarin area, there is no problem. Abul Fazl mentions that Tarins with Kakars occupyed the territory of Duki.[160] Perhaps these were Spin Tarins, as they still occupy these lands. While referring to Pishin territory Abul Fazl, strongly does not mention the name of important tribes, although his knowledge of this area and people might have been good. At present this area is occupied by Tor Tarin.

2.2.4.17 Abdali (Durrani)

The Abdali are Sarbanri Afghans, descendents of Sharkbun's son Tarin. They are the cousins of Spin and Tor

157 Ain, II, p. 402.

158 Caroe, p. 12.

159 Ibid. Gazetteer, II, p. 1901; Elphinstone, II, p. 135.

160 Ain, II, p. 402.



Tarins.[161] At the time of Arab conquest of Bust, the then great city at the junction of the Helmand and Arghandab, in seventh century, Abdalis are said to be occupying the Zamindawar region.[162] It is interesting that neither at this time nor indeed for another thousand years there is any mention of the great Abdalis. In absence of any reference to Abdalis in Babar Nama is quite strange.[163] The only tribe Babar mentions as inhabiting territory roughly between Qandahar and Herat (where the Abdalis were when first they appear in history) are the Nukdaris.[164] These Nukdaris were possibly not Afghans. Babar does mention his conquest of Zamindawar,[165] a central Abdali possession, but says nothing about its inhabitants. Possibly at the time of Babar's arrival in this region, Abdalis were still better known as the Tarin, who were getting stronger with the decline of power of the Timurid house.

The emergence of Abdalis is closely related to the changing fortunes of the Qandahar city and region. Qandahar changed hands, throughout the period under study. At times it was under the rule of Mughals, and at time under the Per-

161 Caroe, p. 12.

162 Ibid., pp. 96-97.

163 Ibid., p. 97.

164 BN, pp. 200, 274 etc. Babar calls them Nikdiri.

165 BN, pp. 27, 337-339 etc.

sian kings, in between it was ruled over by the semi-independent governors. In 1587, when Shah Abbas the Great, ascended the Safawi thrown at Isfahan, Qandahar was a part of his dominions. More or less at the same time (in 1589) Malik Saddo was chosen chief of the Abdalis living around Qandahar.[166] This is the first historical reference to the Abdalis.

Shah Abbas assigned the responsibility of safeguarding of portions of the road from Persia through Herat to Qandahar,[167] just as Malik Akoray was given the job of safeguarding the Kabul-Delhi road near Khaibar. In a way the time as well as the reason for the emergence of the power of Abdalis and Khattaks were the same - although one group was against the Mughals while the other fought for them.

Towards the end of his reign, in 1595 Akbar however, got the possession of Qandahar. At this time, according to Abul Fazl, the Abdalis were occupying the regions east of Qandahar[168] where they are still living. But during the intervening period, Abdalis attained unparalled glory - as for the first time Pathans ruled over parts of Persia and India from their own lands, but then, instead of being called Abdalis they preferred to be known as Durranis. This event of establishment of a great empire also resulted in the ex-

166 Caroe, p. 223.

167 Ibid.

168 Ain, II, p. 403.

pansion of their traditional territories in the Qandahar region. They pushed many tribal groups out of their homeland in the process of this territorial expansion.

2.2.4.18 Ghilzai (Ghilji)

The Ghilzais are the descendents of Bibi Mato,[169] daughter of Bitan. They are called Matis and are not considered as full Pathans as their father was not a Pathan.[170] There are many stories about the husband of Bibi Mato and the circumstances in which their first son was born. The Pathans consider the son as "the fruit of a clandestine and called Ghilzai - Ghil in Afghan language signifying thief, and Zai born a son."[171] Lodis are considered more respectable although they are the descendents of the same parents[172] from the second son, after their marriage.

In 1507 Babar was occupied in a foray against the Ghiljis. The Ghiljis were then as now occupying the upland plain of Khattawaz.[173] He describ s these nomadic Ghilzais thus, ".. we got out of these low hills and valley bottoms to the plain on which the Ghilji lay with a good yighach[174]

169 Caroe, p. 16.

170 Ibid., p. 17.

171 Ibid., p. 16.

172 Ibid., p. 18.

173 Ibid., p. 150.

174 According to Beveridge "this must have been one of

of road between them and us; once out on the plain would see their blackness, either own or from the smoke of their fires."[175] Caroe attributes this blackness to the moving caravan of the Ghilzais and quotes a love song to show the effects of whirling dust on the face of the maiden.[176]

Possibly, the Ghilzais were among the richest tribal groups of the region. Babar mentions this in no uncertain manner. "Masses of sheep fell to us, more than in any other raid."[177] Babar estimates the number of sheep as one lakh (100,000) "the fifth came out at 16,000,[178] that is to say, this 16,000 was the fifth of 80,000 sheep; no question however but that with those lost and those not asked for, a lak (100,000) of sheep had been taken."[179]

The Ghilzai tribe saw many ups and downs during the later period, which changed their spatial distribution pattern significantly. In their hay days - their spread was significant but during the period of Durrani expansion they

Cont'd... f.n. 174

those good yighach of perhaps 5-6 miles" (f.n. 5, BN, p. 323).

175 BN, p. 323.

176 Caroe, p. 158.

177 BN, p. 324.

178 The fifth taken was manifestly at the ruler's disposition.

179 BN, p. 325.

were restricted to relatively smaller areas. But in any case the core area of their concentration more or less remained the same. Their main seat of power was in Qalat-i Ghilzai, though many of their clans have been nomads. Strangely Babar mentions nothing about the varied class of the Ghiljis and "he seems quite unaware that Lodi Emperor whom he unseated, was himself of Ghalji descent."[180] Abul Fazl referred to Ghilzais as the dominent tribe of territory of Qalat Tartuk.[181]

2.2.4.19 Hazara /Turkman Hazara

Apart from the Mughals, some other Mongol tribal groups like Hazaras and Turkman Hazaras were also living in the Kabul and Ghazni regions, during the period under study. There are various references to them in Babar Nama, Akbarnama, Ain-i-Akbari and other contemporary sources. Babar found them scattered over large areas; west of Kabul in Ghorband[182] and Hari-valleys;[183] in the western mountains;[184] and in the

180 Caroe, p. 158.

181 Ain, II, p. 403. This Tartuk is possibly a clerical error. The only possibility is that as there were two Qalats in Sarkar of Qandahar Qalat-i-Ghilzai might have referred to as Qalat-i-Tarnuk, the river along which this town is located.

182 BN, pp. 214, 311.

183 Ibid., p. 308.

184 Ibid., pp. 200, 207.

Ghazni area.[185] It seems that during this period they were still in the process of settling down in specific areas.

It is believed that after conquering Kabul-Gazni region in the thirteenth century, no real attempt was made to clamp mongol power into this area except for establishing military colonies in the Central Ghor massif.[186] These mongols today are known as Hazaras and Aimaqs. In fact there is no reference to Aimaq as a separate tribal group in the contemporary sources. The reason seem to be simple, Babar used the Turkish word aimaq meaning clan.[187] Elphinstone is of the openion that "The Eimauks and Hazaurehs are the same people, though separated since their conversion to Mahommedanism by the different sects they have adopted; the Eimauks being rigid sooness, and the Hazaurehs violent Shoeahs."[188] The Hazarab however came inti the contact of Persians in this region and except for a few groups of people who speak an archaic Mongolian dialect,[189] most of them now express themselves in a rustic form of Persian.[190]

185 Ibid., p. 218.

186 Caroe, p. 136.

187 BN, p. 221.

188 Elphinstone, II, p. 203.

189 At the time of Babar, some of the Hazaras living in Ghur or Hazarajat region were speaking 'the Mughuli tonged. BN, p. 207. Caroe mentions that some of them still speak Mongolian dialect; Pathans, p. 136.

190 Caroe, p. 136.

The Hazara's concentration in the Ghorband valley was quite significant as both Babar and Abul Fazl mentions their presence in that region. Babar clearly mentions that in the tuman of Ghur-bund the "Hazara hold the heads of its valleys."[191] At another time Babar found them wintering outside their own valley, on the Ghur-bund road.[192] Abul Fazl, also locates them in the tuman of Ghorband.[193] But at present we do not find them in any considerable numbers in this valley.

Babar while coming from Khurasan by an unusual route to travel in winters lost his route when he was mid-way to Kabul and sent men to fetch any one soever of the Hazara, wintering in the /Hari-rud/ valley-bottom."[194] This was perhaps near the tuman of Maidan as Abul Fazl, also locates them in the tuman of Maidan.[195] The Hazaras are still living in this area.

2.2.4.20 Nohmardi

The Nohmardi or Nuhmardi, a strong section of the Samijahas, a tribe of Rajput origin,[196] claimed to be born from

191 BN, p. 311. Babar refers to them as Turkman Hazaras.

192 BN, p. 214.

193 Ain, II, p. 415.

194 BN, p. 308.

195 Ain, II, p. 416.

196 A.Z. Khan, History and Culture of Sind, Karachi, 1980, pp. 221, 27.

nine Samijah men who went to reside in the hills. The hilly terrain isolated them from the Samijah tribes living in the plains. In due course of time their living habits and problems became quite different from their collaterals of the river valley.[197]

Although, the Indus demarcated Sind into two ethnic regions; the west predominantly Baluch and the east largely Rajput; few Rajput tribes, mainly the Nohmardi section of Samijahs, over stepped this division in upper and central Sind.[198] They occupied the hills of Siwistan down the sarkar of Chakarhala. It is mention by Abul Fazl that "A third range runs from Sehman to Sewi and is called Khattar /Kirthar/ where dwells a tribe named Nohmardi that can raise a force of 300 horse and 7000 foot.[199]

The meagre resources of land in the Kirthar range faced Nohmardis to lead a nomadic life. The poor economic condition of the tribe also lead them to acts of rapine and brigandage against the tribes of the valley and greatly intensified their martial qualities. The Nuhmardis, infact, served as a strong check for any further migration of the Baluchs from Baluchistan towards Thatta. The authorities tried to keep a permanent watch over their movements. But rugged terrain of their region made these areas inaccessible and expeditions against them ineffective and so they could never

197 Ibid., p. 234.

198 Ibid., p. 198.

199 Ain, II, p. 339.

be thoroughly subjugated during the Mughal period.[200]

2.2.4.21 Sodah (Sudhas)

The Rajput tribes were a very important element in the mixed population of Sind.[201] One of these tribes were the Sudhas. The Sudhas were the most numerous and powerful Rajput tribe which remained Hindus.[202] Modern scholars assign them a very ancient origin.[203] They were mainly concentrated in the region of Umarkot where they were ruled by their own princes called Rana.[204] Sudhas found themselves squeezed between the powerful state of Bikaner and strong rulers of Sind. The resources of their region, with Amarkot or Umarkot as the chief fort, were limited and insufficient.[205] The main area of their concentration was "from Bhakkar to Nasirpur and Umarkot."[206] In this region Jarijah, another tribal group, was also living. The rulers of Sind saw little charm in the

200 Khan, p. 234.

201 Ibid., p. 242.

202 Ibid., pp. 201, 243 etc.

203 Ibid., p. 243.

204 There are various references to the Rana of Amarkot, in the contemporary books, mainly in connection with Humayun's flight to Persia after his defeat in Hindustan. But there is a confusion about the name of Rana. Jauhar and Gulbadan Begum just write Rana (Tadhkirat-al-Waqiat, p. 74, Humayun Nama, p. 56) Abul Fazl, refers to him as Rana Prasad (AN, I, p. 375) Mir Masum refers to him as Rana Birsal (Masumi, p. 243).

205 Masumi, p. 245.

206 Ain, II, p. 341.

thuls of the desert and seldom tried to subjugate the region. Possibly due to the geographical proximity and physical accessibility of this.region, they were culturally closer to people living in the Sind region as compared to Rajputs of Rajasthan. They supported the Sammahs against Arghuns[207] and later sided with Humayun - when the exiled king was desparate.[208] They not only provided him the provisions but also arranged for him 7000 soldiers; 2000 Sudhas and 5000 Shanah or Samincha.[209]

2.2.4.22 Jarejahs (Jarijahs)

Jarijahs are a branch of the Sammahs,[210] so their origin like the origin of Sammahs is obscure. The claims of Sammahs to sovereignty as their birth right by stressing links with legendry figures, have given rise to various traditions and theories which have obscured their origin.[211] However, most of the modern scholars usually regard the Sammah and their allied tribes as a branch of Yadav Rajputs.[212] Nevertheless there are some scholars who suggest

207 Khan, p. 244.

208 Jauhar, p. 74; Gulbadan, p. 57, Masumi, p. 243, AN, I, p. 375 etc.

209 Jauhar, pp. 74-75; Gulbadan, p. 58.

210 Nabi Bakhsh, Tarikh-i-Masumi, p. 410.

211 Abul Fazl described them to be the descendents of Jamshid, the legendary ruler of Iran (Ain, II, p. 341).

212 Tod, James, Col., "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan", Vol. I, p. 25 and Vol. II, p. 230.

a semetic origin for them.

Although there are many references to Jarijahs in Tarikh-i-Masumi, still they hardly throw any light either on their origin or the areas of their concentration. In the Sind region, Abul Fazl finds them living in between"Bhakkar to Nasirpur and Umarkot."[213] In this region one small section of Jarijahs might have been living with Sodahs as their main concentration was in Cutch.

2.2.4.23 Mazhari (Nazhari)

Mazharis, belong to the Rind section of Baluchs.[214] Possibly during the period of Akbar, Mazharis were occupying the southern most part of the Kirthar range. Though, Abul Fazl's geographical knowledge of this region seems to be faulty, anyway according to him, next to the Nuhmardi tribe "there is another clan of the Baloch known as Mazhari with a force of a thousand men."[215] He also refers to this region as famous for "a good breed of horses."[216]

2.2.4.24 Kalmani (Kalmati)

Kalmati belong to the Baluch tribal group.[217] During

213 Ain, II, p. 341.

214 Khan, p. 224.

215 Ain, II, p. 339.

216 Ibid.

217 Ibid.

the period of Akbar, they were occupying parts of Sind Kohistan (Sarkar of Chakarhala). In fact, this whole region was occupied by various Baluch tribes. Nuhmardi is the only important Rajput tribal group in this part of the Sind. The Nuhmardis, who were living, west of Kalmatis in the Kirthar range kept other Baluch tribal groups away from the Thatta region.[218] Kalmati hence remained separated by Nuhmardis from other Baluch tribes, across Kirthar range.

The hills and possibly the plateau occupied by the Kalmati tribe were low lying and sufficiently accessible.[219] This led to the development of relatively better economic conditions of the Kalmatis. The Kalmatis were so strong that they were in a position to muster twenty thousand cavalry.[220] According to Abul Fazl, "a fine breed of camels is here indegenous."[221]

2.3 Political- Administrative Divisions

Akbar's empire was hierarchically divided into Subas, Sarkars and mahals. This division was based upon physical compulsions. The mahals were also known as Parganas. Some-

218 Khan, p. 221.

219 According to Abul Fazl, Kalmati were occupying Lakhi range (Ain, II, p. 339). It seems that due to poor geographical knowledge of Abul Fazl's description of the tribal groups of the region is confusing.

220 Ain, II, p. 339.

221 Ibid.

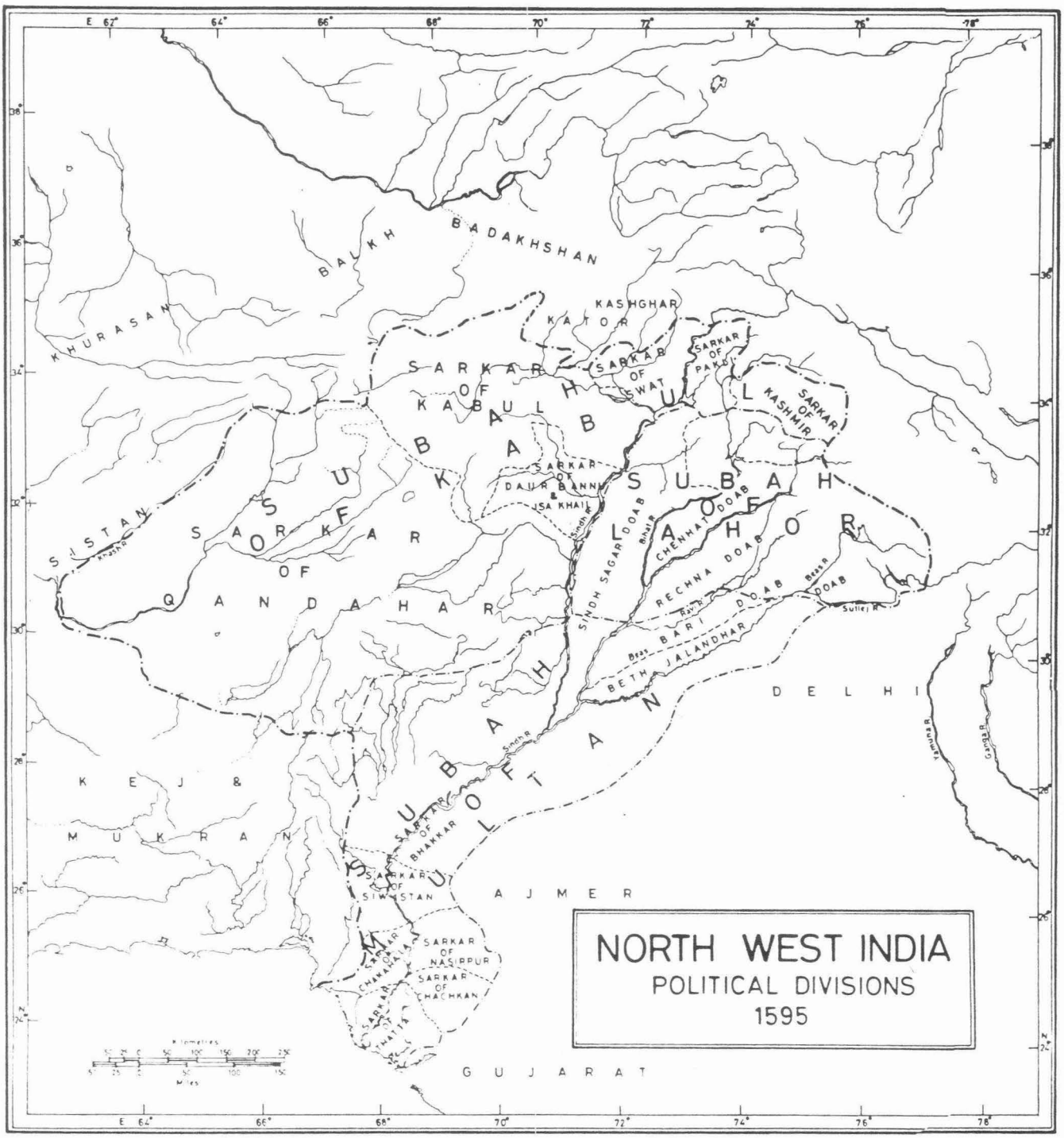
times local terms were also used for these units i.e., Tuman in Kabul and territory in Qandahar.

It has already been mentioned that North-West India, during the times of Akbar (1595) was divided into three subas viz. Kabul, Lahor and Multan. This political - administrative division of the region had a very strong physical basis, because, during the medieval period, when detailed knowledge of the earth's surface was not available, and methods of survey and mapping had not adequately developed, physical features appeared as dividing lines, already existing in nature. Physical features, such as a mountain range, the bed of a river stream, a marshy tract, the edge of a thick forest or a desert, were considered as playing two distinct and important roles, first, serving as barriers to contact and, second, providing protection from external attacks.(See Map 2.5)

Mountains were considered good political boundaries because they traditionally served as natural defence barriers. They were firmly fixed on the ground and were highly stable.[222] During the period under study it is apparent that most of the political-administrative boundaries of the suba's, sarkar's and Tuman's were greatly influenced by the mountain ranges.

In the plain regions like Punjab and Sind, where there were no mountains, rivers provided the desired barrier. Although there are various disadvantages in selecting rivers as boundary lines between two countries, they do provide

222 R.D. Dikshit, Political Geography, New Delhi, 1982, p. 62.


NORTH WEST INDIA
POLITICAL DIVISIONS
1595
BALKH
BADAKHSHAN
KHURASAN
KASHGHAR
KATOR
SARKAR OF KABUL
SARKAR OF SWAT
SARKAR OF PAKLI
SARKAR OF KASHMIR
SUBAH KABUL
SARKAR OF DAUR & BANNU & ISA KHAIL
SUBAH LAHOR
SISTAN
SARKAR OF QANDAHAR
SUBAH QANDAHAR
SINDH SAGAR DOAB
BARI DOAB
CHENHAT DOAB
RECHNA DOAB
BEAS DOAB
SUTLEJ R.
BEAS R.
RAVI R.
BIAS R.
BETH JALANDHAR DOAB
DELHI
SUBAH MULTAN
SARKAR OF BHAKKAR
SARKAR OF SIWISTAN
KEJ & MUKRAN
AJMER
SARKAR OF NASIRPUR
SARKAR OF CHAKARLA
SARKAR OF MACHKAN
SARKAR OF JHALAWAR
GUJARAT
E 62°
64°
66°
68°
70°
72°
74°
76°
78°

Map 2.5

identifiable barriers within a country. River boundaries are clearly marked, and are narrowly defined (almost linear) on the land surface as compared to the mountains and the hills. Wide unfordable streams offer a barrier to communication, and, as such possess some military value by providing a line of defence.[223]

The example of the rivers as boundaries can best be found in Akbar's subas of Lahor and Multan (traditional Multan region excluding Sind region) where sarkar boundaries were defined by the mighty rivers of Punjab. These rivers were obviously the most well marked feature in the plains to separate one sarkar from another.

In this region, deserts also played their role in delineating the boundary of the suba of Multan. In fact, Thar desert separates suba of Multan and Ajmer which was predominently desertic). Another desert delimits the Qandahar region on the south and west.

The impact of physiography and climate on the political administrative boundaries was not always direct. In fact certain physical feature become notional cultural barriers and kept communities away from one another. This resulted in the emergence of distinct ethno-cultural regions, which influenced the mergence of certain political boundaries.

In this section, an attempt has been made to analyse the direct and indirect influence of the physical structures

223 Dikshit, p. 65.

on the formation of political boundaries within the region. For this purpose, suba of Kabul has been chosen for a micro level analysis. The other subas have also been discussed but in less detail.

2.3.1 Suba of Kabul

The suba of Kabul during the times of Akbar, was by far the largest suba of Hindustan (after the inclusion of Qandahar). The suba extended from 29° 50' to 35° 45' north latitude, and 62° 55' to 75° 45' east longitude. The suba of Kabul in the east was very narrow as compared to the west. Kashmir, Pakli and Swat were small in area when compared to the sarkars of Qandahar, Kabul and even Daur, Bannu and Isakhail. Suba of Kabul lay in between the high mountainous territories of the north and low lying Indus plains of the south. (See Map 2.5)

The suba of Kabul was borded on the north-east by the territory of Great Tibet[224] (Maryul). To the north of the sarkar of Kashmir lay little Tibet (Baltistan). West of Baltistan, north and north-west of Pakli, lay Balur. West of Balur, and north of the sarkar of Swat were the territories of Kator[225] and Kashghar (Kashkar or Khitral). Adjoining Kator region, north east of Sarkar of Kabul, lay the territory of Kafiristan.[226] The Hindu Kush mountain separated

224 Ain, II, p. 351.
225 Ibid., p. 391.
226 Ibid., p. 410.

sarkar as well as suba of Kabul from Balkh and Badakshan.[227] On the north of tuman of Panjshir, across the Hindu Kush lay the territory of Andrab of Badakhshan. North-west of the sarkar of Kabul lay the Kohmard territory of Balkh. Territories of Ghor[228] and Khurasan (Herat) lay east of sarkar of Kabul and north of sarkar of Qandahar. Sarkar of Qandahar was bounded on the west by the territories of Farah[229] and Sistan. South of the sarkar of Qandahar lay the extensive desert and mountainous region of the present Baluchistan. South-east of the suba of Kabul, in the Indus plains, lay the subas of Lahore and Multan.

It is rather difficult to provide a purely physiographic justification of the inclusion of these vast territories in a single suba of Kabul. In fact considerations were mainly political although they were greatly influenced by certain physical factors. For instance, Kashmir was conquered only in 1585 and was, temporarily, attached to the suba of Kabul. However, it was made into a separate suba under Jahangir. Similarly, according to Ain, Pakli was a sarkar of Kabul but subsequently, when Kashmir became a separate suba, Pakli was transferred to it.[230]

Apart from these two territories, lying east of Indus, Qandahar which lies in a different river basin, was annexed

227 BN, p. 204.

228 Ain, II, pp. 399, 404.

229 Ibid., p. 399.

230 Irfan Habib, Atlas, p. 6.

by Akbar only in 1595 and remained with the Mughals only upto 1622.[231] The geographical reasons for the inclusion of these territories in the *suba* of Kabul were obvious, because, on the one hand the geographical conditions of Kashmir and Pakli were more or less similar to Kabul i.e., like Kabul these two territories were hilly. On the other hand, the physical conditions of Kashmir and Pakli were absolutely different from the southern Indus plain, i.e., the *suba* of Lahore. Qandahar might have been included in the *suba* of Kabul temporarily, since there is no significant barrier between these two "twin gates of India" - Kabul and Qandahar.

It is rather necessary, for a better understanding of the interrelationship between physical regions, cultural regions and political-administrative divisions of the *suba* of Kabul to first delineate the boundaries of the *sarkars* of Kabul. As noted earlier, political boundaries do not necessarily follow physical or cultural boundaries though they have a strong tendency to follow one another. It is better to take up each *sarkar* of *suba* of Kabul to find the exact nature of the space relation within them.

2.3.1.1 *Sarkar* of Kabul

The *sarkar* of Kabul, naturally, was the most important

231 Jahangir "added Qandahar to Thatta and handed it over to Mirza Ghazi". *TJ*, I, p. 224. This also shows that Qandahar and Kabul were not considered as one integral unit.

sarkar of the suba of Kabul. Geographically speaking the sarkar of Kabul was confined to the Kabul river basin. During the times of Akbar it extended from Hindukush to Indus. According to Abul Fazl "Its length from Atak Benaras on the Indus to the Hindu Kush is 150 kos, its breadth from Qarabagh of Qandahar to Cheghan Serai, 100 kos. It is bounded on the east by Hindustan; on the north-west by the mountains and Ghor, between to the north lies Andrab of Badakhshan; the Hindu Koh intervening; on the south by Farmul and Nagar."[232]

The physical as well as the political boundaries of the sarkar were well defined in the north as Hindu Kush separates Kabul from Balkh, Qunduz and Badakhshan.[233] On the western side, due to the absence of any significant physical barrier, Bamian although belonging to Amu Darya system, was included in the sarkar of Kabul. Similarly, tumans of Ghazni and Gardez (Zurmut of Babar Nama), though belonging to Hilmand-Arghandab river system, were the parts of Kabul region, as there were no physical barriers between Kabul and Ghazni or for that matter between Kabul and Qandahar.[234] The fact that Ghazni and Qandahar belonged to one physical region did not go unnoticed as Babar himself mentions, "some hold that Qandahar is a part of it (Ghazni).[235] The inclusion of

232 Ain, II, p. 404.

233 BN, p. 204.

234 Babar mentions that the road between Kabul and Qandahar "is quite level without a pass", BN, p. 205.

235 BN, p. 217.

Ghazni in Kabul region may be attributed, on the one hand, to the other to the strength of the rulers of Kabul who were generally more powerful than the rulers of Qandahar.

The Safed Koh mountain formed the boundary of Kabul region on the south-east during the reign of Babar.[236] In fact Safed Koh is also a water divide, separating the tributaries of the Kurram system. Akbar conquered all these territories and included Nagar, Bangash and Kohat regions in the sarkar of Kabul. However, as compared to Ghazni and Gardez, at least these territories lay in the Indus basin.

The exclusion of the territory lying east of Lamgham is strange, as the Peshawar Valley or Bigram region, which is a significant part of the Kabul Basin with its fertile lands, was not a part of Kabul region during the period of Babar. The reasons for this were possibly political. As noted earlier the tribal movements during the period of Babar were very intensive and this region in particular was much disturbed. Babar noted that this region had been a part of Kabul but he did not mention the name of Peshawar. "Bajaur, Sawad and Hash-nagar may at one time have been dependencies of Kabul, but they now have no resemblance to cultivated countries (wilayat), some lying desolate because of the Afghans, others being now subject to them."[237] Understandably, during the period of Akbar the eastern limit of

236 Ibid., p. 209.

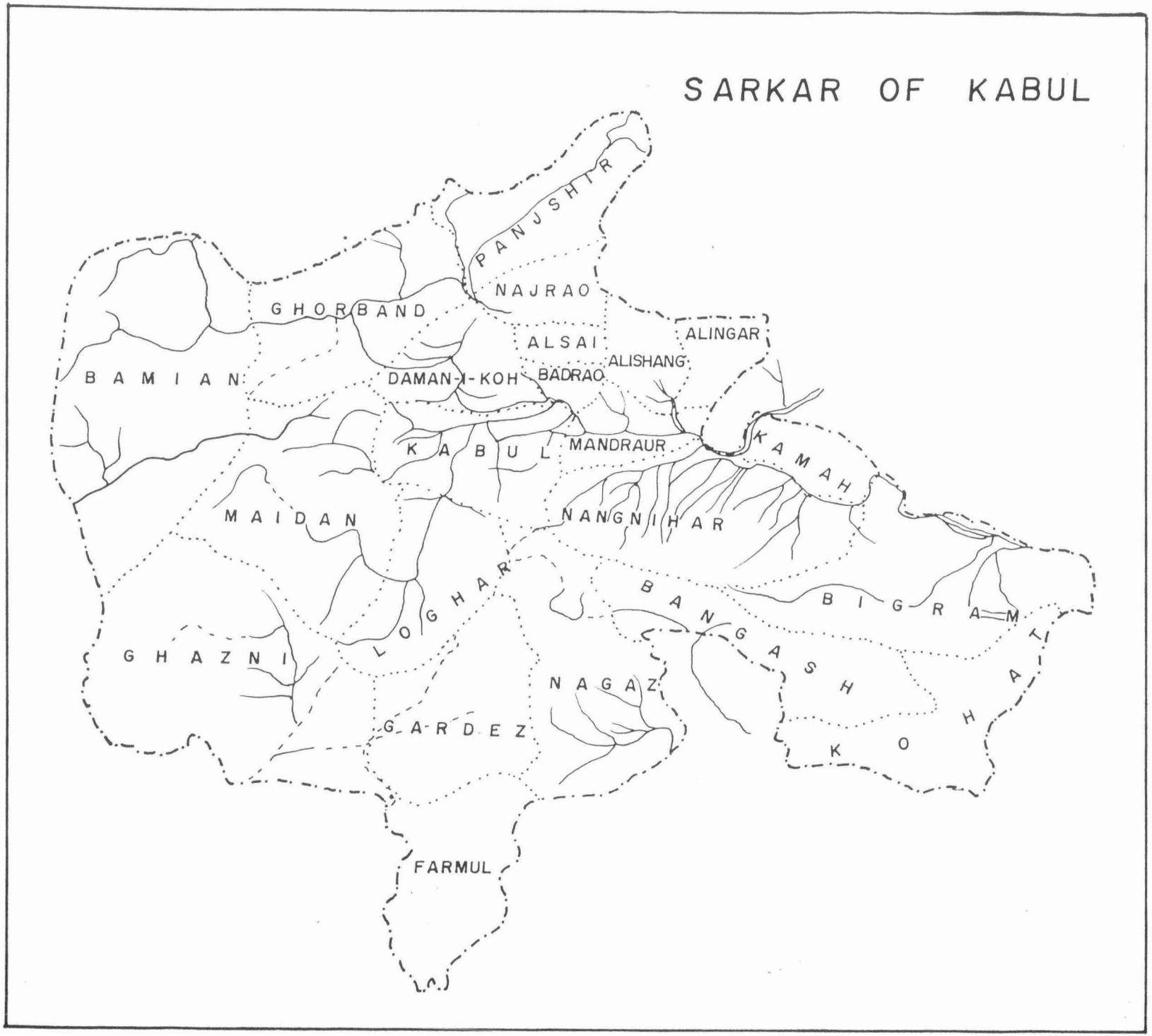
237 Ibid., p. 207.

Kabul sarkar became Indus. The Swat river basin, on the other hand, which is a part of Kabul basin, was made a separate sarkar.

There is hardly any doubt that the Kabul sarkar was basically the Kabul river basin, and only due to certain political and economic compulsions or considerations, certain territories were attached to the sarkar although these were not, geographically speaking, parts of the Kabul river basin. For furthering our understanding of the interrelationship between physical, cultural and political regions it is necessary to take up the tumans of Kabul sarkar as a unit of study. In fact these tumans generally had clear cut natural boundaries and were considered as distinct political units. (See Map 2.6)

Panjshir, the northern most tuman had pronounced natural limits. It lay in the basin of the Panjshir river. On the north, Hindu Kush separated it from Andrab region; on the east and southeast again, snow covered mountains provided a natural boundary. On the west a range of Hindu Kush separated it from Ghorband. Like Panjshir, Ghorband also had well defined physical boundaries. It was bounded on three sides i.e. north, west and east by ranges of the Hindu Kush mountain, while its southern boundary was demarcated by Koh-i-Baba range.

It seems that the tuman of Bamian of Ain, was significantly larger than the Bamian river basin. The Bamian


SARKAR OF KABUL
PANJSHIR
NAJRAO
GHORBAND
ALSAI
ALINGAR
ALISHANG
BAMIAN
DAMAN-I-KOH
BADRAO
KABUL
MANDRAUR
KAMAH
MAIDAN
NANGNIHAR
LOGHAR
BANGASH
BIGRAM
GHAZNI
NAGAZ
GARDEZ
KOHAT
FARMUL

Map 2.6

is a tributary of Surkhab, which after is confluence with Andrab is known as Kunduz. Kabul sarkar during the times of Akbar, as it was not included in the Kabul region of Babar. It seems that, sarkar of Bamian had, in its limits, some regions lying south of Koh-i-Baba range, which otherwise belonged to Hilmand river system. Bamina's physical limits, however, did not coinside with its political boundaries and possibly it provided the King with some reasons to include it in his empire.

Like Bamian, the boundaries of Ghazni were also not geographically well defined. As mentioned earlier, physiographically, it is a part of Hilmand-Arghandab river basin. Ghazni, like Qandahar, lies in the Eastern mountain and foothill region of the Hilmand-Arghandab river system. The altitudes here are higher but slopes are gentle along the Ghazni and other streams of the region. Possibly, this has been responsible for better economic conditions in the Ghazni area but it has also kept the political situation of the region changing. For instance, Qarabagh was a part of the Qandahar sarkar during Akbar's reign,[238] but in the times of Shahjahan it was included in Kabul, being within the district of Ghazni.[239] The Qandahar frontier then began at Muqur.

238 Ain, II, p. 404.

239 Irfan Habib, Atlas, p. 3.

Tuman of Ghardez[240] also lies outside the Kabul river basin, and, physiographically is a part of Eastern mountains and foothills region of Hilman-Arghandab system. Like Ghazni, Gardez region also lies on higher altitudes (more than 7,000 feet). In comparison to the west, its eastern and south-eastern boundaries, were geographically more defined. It was separated from Nagaz region by high mountain ranges (over 10,000 feet) which also acted as the water divide between Indus river system and Hilmand Arghandab system. The northern boundary follows the high hills, separating perennial streams of Loghar river (a tributary of Kabul river) from the seasonal streams of Jilya, a tributary of Ghazni river.

There were four tumans, viz., Farmul, Nagaz, Bangash and Kohat which lie within Indus basin but physiographically speaking were not parts of the Kabul basin. Out of these four, only Farmul was included in Kabul region during Babar's time. But during the reign of Akbar, all became tumans of sarkar of Kabul.

Tuman of Farmul which lay south of Gardez and west of sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhail, occupied the higher elevated region from which the main tributaries of Tuchi as well as Gomal rivers issue. Its eastern boundary is quite well defined[241] although Margha, a tributary of Tochi

240 Babar refers to it as Surmut, BN, p. 220.

241 Ultimately it became the international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

cut across this boundary. The western boundary follows the water divide between rivers of Indus basin and Hilmand-Arghandab system.

Tuman of Nagaz, which lay between Gardez (on the west) and sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhail (on the east and south) had well defined physical boundaries, atleast on three sides. On the west it is bounded by the hills which separate the tributaries of Indus river and Hilmand-Arghandab. The southern boundary had been demarcated by the mountain range, which also forms a water divide between Kaitu and Margh rivers of the Kurram river system. Safed Koh mountain forms its northern boundary. The eastern boundary of tuman of Nagaz as compared to other sides, did not follow any significant barrier.[242] Nagaz included in its limits two rivers, in their upper reaches. In between these two tributaries of Kurram is a mountain range-reaching upto 10,000 feet.

The shape of tuman of Bangash might have been very odd. Its northern boundary was absolutely well defined as it was separated from Nangnihar by Safed Koh. The boundary on the north-east, between Bigram and Bangash, was also demarcated by a fairly high mountain range which separated tributaries of Kabul river and small tributaries of Indus. But Bangash and Kohat look interwoven and it is

242 However, due to its traditional as well as cultural significance it was also recognised as the boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

rather difficult to be sure about their boundaries.

The boundaries of Kohat were well defined on three sides. It was bounded on the north by low ranges which separate tributaries of Bara river from Kohat Toi river. On the east, the Indus demarcated its boundary while small hills separated it from the sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isa-khail. There was, however, no physical basis of its boundary with Bangash.

Tuman of Bigram was in fact the valley of Peshawar with about 22,000 sq. miles (5698 kms.) of low lands. This has been one of the most fertile areas of the whole of the Kabul sarkar. Conditions in this region were generally suitable for good agricultural produce. Culturally speaking this area may be called as "the area of attraction" or "perennial nuclear region". Tuman of Bigram had perfectly defined boundaries on all sides. It was bounded on the north by the hills of Swat region; on the east by Indus; on the south-east by Kohat hills; on the south-west by more extensive though not very high hills; and on the north-west by the low lying ranges of Safed Koh mountains. The major portion of the valley lies south of Kabul river though Hashtnagar, which lies north of Kabul river possibly was the part of Tuman of Bigram. Babar could not include Bigram in the Kabul region possibly due to the problems created by the tribals occupying it.[243]

243 BN, p. 207.

To the west of Bigram and towards the east of Kabul lay tumans and buluks of Lamghan.[244] Babar gives a detailed description of Lamghan and writes, "In the east of the country of Kabul is the Lamghan at, 5 tumans and 2 buluks of cultivated lands".[245] Out of these five tumans three viz., Alishang, Alinagar and Mandraur were being considered as Lamghan proper. Tuman of Nangnihar, with its buluk of Kama was the fourth. The last tuman was the Kunar with Nurgal. The two buluks were Nur-Valley and Chaghan-Sarai. But probably out of these, the tuman of Kunar and Nurgal, and buluks of Nur valley and Chaghan Sarai were not a part of Akbar's Kabul sarkar, as they do not appear in the list of tumans in Ain. Moreover while describing the boundary of district of Bajaur of sarkar of Swat, Abul Fazl mentions that "on the west (lie) Kunar (and) Nurkil (Nurgil)".[246]

The tuman of Ningnahar or Nagarahar was the largest of the tumans of Lamghan.[247] The residence of its darogha was in Adinapur during the times of Babar,[248] but it was

244 Habib's idea that 'Lamghan' applied strictly to the tract north of Kabul river seems to be incorrect, as he considers Kabul as the boundary between Mandraur and Nangnihar (Habib, Atlas, p. 3). In fact the boundary between these two tumans of Lamghan was the Siyah-koh range (BN, p. 209).

245 BN, p. 207.

246 Ain, II, p. 398.

247 BN, p. 207.

248 Ibid.

subsequently shifted to Jalalabad.[249] It was not considered as the proper Lamghan.[250] Ningnahar's boundaries were natural and it was oval in shape. It was bounded on the north-east by the Kabul river, which separated it from the buluk of Kama; on the north-west by Siyah-koh range; and, on the south by the arc like Safed Koh which acted as a natural boundary. Babar mentions that "the Safed Koh runs along the south of Ningnahar, dividing it from, Bangash; no riding road crosses it, nine torrents (tuguz-rud) issue from it. It is called Safed-koh because its snow never lessens."[251] The streams which rise from Safed Koh and which are more than nine, may be divided into two groups: the tributaries of Surkhab (a tributary of Kabul river) and the tributaries of river Kabul itself.

To the north of Nangnahar lay buluk of Kama. Babar considered Kama "not a separate district but dependent on Ningnahar."[252] It might have followed natural boundaries. The Kabul river demarcated its eastern and southern boundary because nowhere the river is fordable after receiving Kunar waters. The western boundary was formed by the Kunar river while hills delimited Kama on the north.

On the north-west of Nangnahar lay Mandraur, one of the tumans of Lamghan proper. It was a low lying region

249 Ain, II, p. 409.

250 BN, p. 210.

251 Ibid., p. 209.

252 Ibid., p. 213.

with fairly defined physical limits, except on the east. On the north it extended nearly upto the point of Alingar-Alishang confluence, while on the west, the mountain ranges separated it from the Badrao and Kabul regions. Siyah Koh was its southern limit.

Above the confluence of Alishang and Alinagar rivers, in their respective basins, lay tumans of the same names. Their northern boundaries are difficult to acertain, though for Alishang Babar mentions, "to the north of which are fastness-mountains, connecting with Hindu Kush and inhabited by Kafir only".[253] But for this, the whole region is mountainous. Alishang tuman was bounded on the west by a range of northern mountains, running in the north-south direction, separating it from Najrao, Alsai and Badrao. Alinagar tuman was separated from the tuman of Alishang by a fairly high mountain range running in the north-south direction. Kashmand range, possibly was the boundary between Alinagar and Kunar and Nurgal. According to Babar "The part of Kafiristan nearest to it is Gawar (Kawar), out of which its torrent issues."[254]

South of Panjshir lay tuman of Nijrao. Describing it Babar mentions, "It lies north of Kabul in Kohistan, with mountains behind it inhabited solely by Kafirs, it is a quite sequestered place."[255] This region is still known

253 Ibid., p. 210.

254 Ibid.

255 Ibid., p. 213.

as Kohistan. Nijrao was separated by very high mountains from Kafiristan on the east. The boundary on the north followed a high mountain range. The eastern and southern boundaries were not natural and thus uncertain.

Tuman of Alsai was referred to as a buluk of Kabul by Babar.[256] He further writes, "Ala-sai, is 4 to 6 miles (2-3 shari) east of Nijrao. The direct road into it from Nijrao leads, at a place called Kura, through the quite small pass which in that locality separates the cold and hot climates".[257] This statement provides some clue to the approximate boundary between Alsai and Nijrau. The pass which was referred to is shown on map and possibly formed boundary between the two tumans. The reference to the hot and cold climates was only relative. The hills and ranges on the east as well as on the west separated it from the tumans of Alishang and Daman-i-Koh respectively.

Tuman of Badrao lay south of Alsai, north-east of the city of Kabul. Babar refers to it as a buluk and mentions that "it runs with Ala-sai, grows no fruit, and for cultivators has corn-growing Kafirs."[258] As compared to Nijrao or for that matter Alsai, Badrao was relatively low lying with broader river valleys but probably the climate was not suitable for the growth of fruits.

256 Ibid., p. 220.

257 Ibid.

258 Ibid., p. 221.

Tuman of Daman-i-Koh is now known as the Koh-Daman. It consisted of the beautiful plains and eastern slopes of Paghman range. Babar gives a detailed description of its fruits, flowers, natural beauty and pleasent climate etc. He was so impressed by these qualities that he mentions, "few villages match Istalif, with vineyards and fine orchards on both sides of its great torrent, with waters needing no ice, cold, and mostly, pure."[259] It was bounded by the Paghman (Pamghan) on the west and by another fairly high mountain range on the east. The northern and southern boundaries were not physically well defined.

It is rather difficult to delineate the boundaries of the tuman of the city of Kabul. The revenue collected from the tuman of the city of Kabul was fairly high to give an impression that under the jurisdiction of the city of Kabul was a fairly large area. Babar refers to the villages depending on Kabul city. At another place he gives an idea of the approximate location of these villages. "It is on the start of one of these ranges (Pamghan) that most of the villages dependent on Kabul lie."[260]

The tuman of Maidan lay west of Kabul. On the modern maps, Maidan area is shown south-east of Unai Kotal between two mountain ranges, forming two sides of a triangle. The boundary between Bamian and Maidan was demarcated

259 Ibid., p. 216.

260 Ibid.

by the range, which from Unai Kotal runs towards south-east and separates rivers belonging to Indus and Hilmand-Arghandab systems. The boundary between Maidan and Ghazni might have followed the mountain range which forms the water-shed between the above mentioned river systems. Its boundary on the east was, however, not natural, though the boundary between Loghar and Maidan might have followed the range separating the streams of the two tributaries of Loghar river.

Lastly, like Maidan, the tuman of Loghar lay in the Indus basin, while Ghazni and Gardez, which lay south of it belonged to the Hilmand-Arghandab system. Thus, Loghar's boundary with Ghazni and Gardez is natural. High mountain range which lies north-east of Loghar separated it from Nagaz. The boundary between Loghar and Kabul is difficult to ascertain since there is no physical barrier here of any consequence.

Sarkar of Kabul thus provides perhaps the best possible example of how physical factors have been responsible in the making of the political map of a region. Certainly, this more or less perfect inter-dependence of one factor over the other was only possible in hilly regions like Kabul. The role of fertile river valleys and isolated hilly regions too has been very significant in the emergence of relatively permanent political-administrative boundaries. In the sarkar of Kabul all important tumans

lay in the fertile river valleys i.e., the areas of attraction. Inaccessible hilly regions, as discussed earlier were occupied by various tribal groups who maintained their cultural identity and political independence. They were subjugated but temporarily, and paid relatively insignificant revenues.

The regions which we have identified as the areas of attraction were the real important political units i.e. tumans. These regions were occupied by the people belonging to various ethnic groups. The revenue collection from these tumans was significantly higher when compared to the tumans which lay in the hilly terrain.

It seems that in the revenue tables given in Ain for the sarkar of Kabul there are some mistakes. The total revenue, excluding the revenue of the tuman city of Kabul is less than 7 krores, while the total revenue of the sarkar of Kabul is given as 8 krores. The revenue collection from the city of Kabul is less than 13 lakhs, according to Ain, while revenue of Buluk-i-Kamsh has not been recorded. Anyhow, the revenue collection from Daman-i-Koh was the highest i.e., more than one fifth of the total revenue recorded in Ain for the entire sarkar of Kabul. According to Habib the revenue collection from Daman-i-Koh was second only to the tuman city of Kabul.[261] This suggests a higher revenue collection from the city of Kabul. In any case, the revenue collection from the Kabul region

261 Irfan Habib, Atlas, p. 2.

was highest as Koh-Daman was a part of Kabul region. The city of Kabul was the capital of the Suba.

The second region which was identified as the area of attraction was Nagarhar region including tumans of Nagarhar and Mandraur. These two tumans were yielding one sixth of the total revenue of the sarkar of Kabul. Its political importance was due to its suitable agricultural land, its location along the main communication line, and its ethnic diversity. Jalalabad was the residence of the governor of Lamghan.

The third area of attraction in the valley of Kabul river was the Peshawar region. Politically, it was known as the tuman of Bigram. The revenue collection from this tuman was third in amount in the whole sarkar of Kabul. It could have been even more but because of the Yusufzai and Tariki revolt it remained a politically disturbed area.[262]

The last area of attraction, belonging to sarkar of Kabul was the Ghazni region. The city and the region of Ghazni became extremely important during the period of Mahmud in eleventh century. During this period Ghazni was the capital of a large empire but lost its glory after some time. During the period under study, it was not a prosperous region and the revenue collection was not much although it was only next to the tuman of Begram.

262 AN, III, p. 957. Muhammad Quli Turkman was killed in Begram.

2.3.1.2 Sarkar of Swat (Swad)

The region lying north of the valley of Peshawar across the Kabul river was known as Udyana[263] during the ancient period. Hwen Thsang referred to it as U-Chang-na.[264] It was a highly irrigated and fertile country. It probably included all the tributaries of the Swat river. "Udyana would thus have embraced the four modern districts of Panjkora, Bijaur, Swat and Buner."[265] During the medieval period this region was known as Swad or Swat.

Swat region, primarily confined to the Swat basin, traditionally had been a dependency of Kabul. But during the times of Babar, it was an independent region, occupied by quite powerful Pathan tribes. For Babar it had not been possible to conquer the area but he suggested economic reasons for this exclusion. "Bajaur, Sawad and Hashnagar may at one time have been dependencies of Kabul, but they now have no resemblance to cultivated countries (Wilayat), some lying desolate because of the Afghans, others, being now subject to them."[266] The occupants of this region during the period under study were, Yusufzais, Muhammadzais and the retreating Dilazaks. Akong these, Yusufzais were very powerful and perhaps this led Babar to marry a

263 Cunningham, p. 68.

264 Ibid.

265 Ibid., p. 69.

266 BN, p. 207.

Yusufzai lady, Bibi Mubarikah, to pacify them.

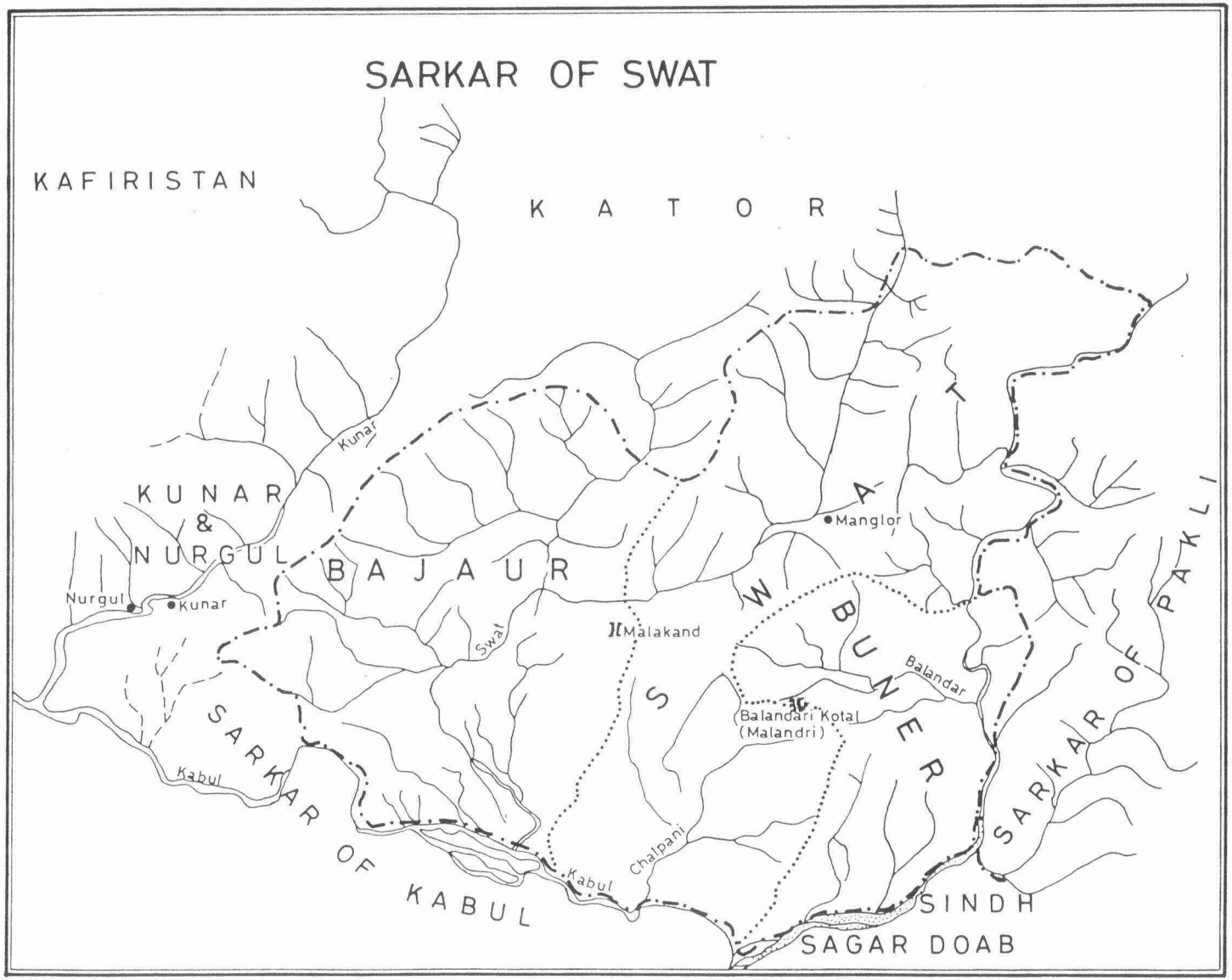
During the period of Akbar, Yusufzais had their strongholds in the hill country of Swat and Bajaur but many of them were also living in the plains.[267] Strategically this area was very important as lying along the Delhi-Kabul route. Akbar tried to keep this region under control and so was compelled to send troops again and again to curtail the increasing force of Yusufzais and their allies. In the preceeding section, the tribal groups of this region have already been discussed, so here, it will suffice to say that this region was not under the effective rule of the Mughals. Hence, in the revenue column of Ain, no figures were given for this sarkar.

The sarkar of Swat, during Akbar's period was divided into three districts. These three districts according to Ain were, Bimbar, Swat and Bajaur.[268] Bimbar certainly was an error in nomenelature as on all grounds it was Buner.[269] In many ways, Buner was into the Indus the knowledge of Abul Fazl about this region seems to be faulty. He, however, gave some correct informations about the surrounding territories of this district. (See Map 2.7)

267 AN, III, p. 717.

268 Ain, II, p.

269 As compared to Bajaur and Swat districts, references to Buner are few in the contemporary books still, from the description in AN it is clear that east, or rather south-east, of Swat was the territory of Buner.


SARKAR OF SWAT
KAFIRISTAN
K A T O R
Kunar
KUNAR & NURGUL
BAJAUR
Nurgul
Kunar
Swat
Malakand
Manglor
SWAT
BUNER
Balandar
(Balandari Kotal (Malandri)
SARKAR OF PAKLI
SARKAR OF KABUL
Kabul
Kabul
Chalpani
SINDH SAGAR DOAB

Map 2·7

The district of Buner according to Abul Fazl was 16 kos in length and 12 kos in breadth and was bounded by Pakli on the east, Kator and Kashghar on the north, Atak Benaras on the south and Swat on the west.[270] The boundaries of Buner district were natural. Indus demarcated the boundary between Buner and Pakli. Abul Fazl's knowledge of the northern boundary was incorrect as he mentioned that Kator and Kashghar lay immediately north of Buner. In fact, as mentioned earlier Buner was only 16 kos long and Kator and Kashghar lay too far to the north of this district. Buner's southern boundary once again was demarcated by the Indus. Buner was separated from Swat by a mountain range which acted as the watershed between Chalpani, tributary of Kabul, and tributaries of the Indus river.

In the north and west of Buner lay the long and narrow district of Swat. According to Ain, Swat is, "40 kos in length by 5 to 15 in breadth."[271] The northern half of the Swat region is very rugged and inaccessible and belongs to the Swat valley and mountains. The southern half is relatively plain and is drained by Chalpani river. The boundaries of Swat were more or less natural. To the north of Swat district lay Kator and Kashghar regions, the boundary between these territories consisted perhaps of

270 Ain, II, p. 397.

271 Ibid.

the snow covered mountains of the Kohistan region as shown in the modern maps. To the south-east lay the district of Buner. On the south, it was separated from the Tuman of Bigram by the Kabul river. The western boundary between Swat and Bajaur was demarcated by the hills which separated the tributaries of Panjkura and Swat rivers before the confluence of Panjkura with Swat. In this way, the mountainous region of the district of Swat was in fact the Swat river basin, excluding of course the upper Swat region.

Bajaur, the third sitrict of sarkar of Swat, consisted mainly of the valley of Panjkora river and its tributaries. Its boundaries were clearly demarcated by natural features. According to Ain "on the east lies Swat, on the north Kator and Keshghar, on the south Bigram and the west Kunar and Nurkil."[272] The boundary between Bajaur and Swat has already been discussed. On the south the boundary between Bajaur and Hashtnagar of tuman of Bigram was not a natural one, but its boundary with buluk of Kama, on the south-west was demarcated by a mountain range. Its eastern boundary followed the fairly high range of the Hindu Raj, which separated it from the territory of Kunar and Nurgul which lay in the valley of Kunar. During the period of Akbar, Kunar and Nurgul were independent territories and the territory of Panjkura, lying in the main and upper Panjkura valley, was also not a part of the sarkar of Pakli.

272 Ibid., p. 398.

It is clear now, that there was a strong physical basis for the emergence of Swat as a distinct political-administrative unit - a sarkar. The divisions of the sarkar into three districts was also based on physical features. In fact the physical setting of the region has been responsible for the growth of a distinct socio-economic structure within the sarkar of Swat. For example, Buner, which lay outside the Kabul basin, was also culturally different, atleast in the initial stages. During the period of Babar and Akbar, Yusufzai concentration was only limited to Bajaur and to the Swat region and perhaps Buner was more exposed to outside influences. On the other hand, hilly regions of Bajaur and Swat were the real backbone of Yusufzai power due to their inaccessibility.

The Yusufzais, who were settled in the plains of Bajaur and Swat were more exposed to the attacks of the imperial army and so were generally law abiding and paid revenue more regularly. However, at the times of war between Yusufzais and the Mughals, they always supported their clansmen. This in the long run kept them more or less united. As we have discussed earlier, the formation of a political unit usually helps in the growth and development of a distinct culture within it. Possibly this was the case with Buner region as in due course of time the Yusufzais spread over this region also. Hence, in spite of many differences within it the whole Swat region ultima-

tely became Yusufzai land.[273]

2.2.1.3 Sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel

Hwen Thsang's 'Fa-la-na' undoubtedly was the Banu region.[274] Perhaps its original name was Varana, or Barna. This is confirmed by Fa-Hian who called the country by the shorter vernacular name of Po-na, or Bana, which he reached in thirteen days from Nagarahara in going towards the south. Pona also is said to be three days journey to the west of the Indus, which completes the proof of its identity with Banu, or the lower half of the valley of Kurram river.[275] In the times of Fa-Hian the kingdom of Bannu was limited to this small tract, as the upper part of the Kurram valley was a separate district, called Lo-i, or Roh.[276] But in the times of Hwen Thssang, Bannu had a circuit of more than 600 miles.

Sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel, due to the inclusion of Daur and Isakhel territories in Bannu became obviously larger than Fa-Hian's Banu, but still it was

273 The traditional boundary of Swat region ultimately became an international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

274 Cunningham, p. 71.

275 Ibid.

276 Ibid., p. 72. It is probable that the Roh region of Fa-Hian became Daur during the medieval period.

smaller than the kingdom of Bannu of Hwen Thsang. Out of the three districts of this sarkar Babar refers to two viz., Bannu and Isakhel. Babar first passed through this to him, unknown territory in 1505.[277] Though he has described the physical structure of the areas he visited, it is, however, difficult to delineate boundaries on the basis of his description. Still through his description, it is possible to ascertain atleast the respective locations of the subdivisions of the sarkar. Passing through Kohat and Bengash territories Babar reached Til or Thal.[278] That perhaps was the chief town of the Daur region, though it is nowhere mentioned. The only reference to suggest this is Babar's statement that Til is below Bangash.[279] In the nineteenth century maps, however, Daur region is shown in Upper Kurram valley above the Bannu region. It was the territory of Roh of Fa Hien. (See Map 2-8)

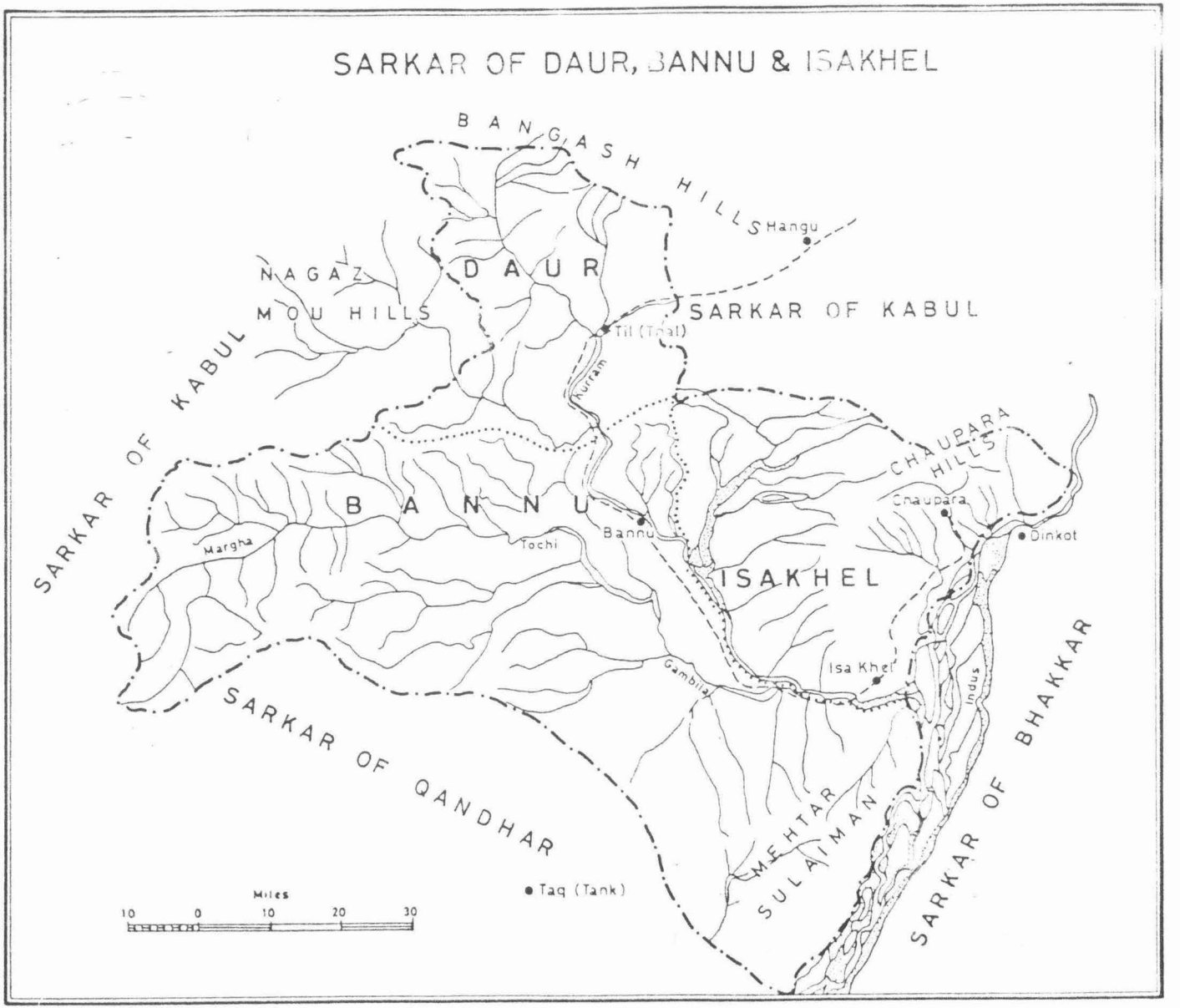
Babar's description of Bannu region is quite detailed. He writes, "The Bannu lands lie, a dead level, immediately outside the Bangash and Naghr hills, these being to their north. The Bangash torrent (the Kuram) comes down into Bannu and fertilizes its lands."[280] This is a correct description of the Bannu lands which are quite fertile as compared to Daur region, which was a bare and

277 BN, pp. 229-230.

278 Ibid., p. 232.

279 Ibid.

280 Ibid.


SARKAR OF DAUR, BANNU & ISAKHEL
BANGASH HILLS
Hangu
NAGAZ
DAUR
MOU HILLS
SARKAR OF KABUL
SARKAR OF KABUL
Til (Tal)
Kurram
CHAUPARA HILLS
Chaupara
Dinkot
BANNU
Bannu
Tochi
Margha
ISAKHEL
Isa Khel
Gambila
Indus
SARKAR OF QANDHAR
MEHTAR SULAIMAN
SARKAR OF BHAKKAR
Taq (Tank)
Miles
10 0 10 20 30

Map 2-9

stony, unirrigated plain, lying south of Bangash hills.[281] Babar describes the limit of Bannu lands as he mentions, "South (-east) of them are Chaupara and the water of Sind; to their east is Din-Kot; (south-) west is the plain (Dasht), known as Bazar and Taq."[282] As mentioned above, although Babar's description of the region he visited is lucid, his knwledge of the directions and the boundaries was faulty. Though he later on mentioned about the Isakhel territory but while describing the Bannu territory he seems to be ignorant of its exact location in relation to Bannu.

Isakhel, the third district of the sarkar, lay east of Bannu. The boundary between these two sub-divisions of the sarkar was no where mentioned, but it is possible that Surghar range might have been the boundary between Bannu and Isakhel regions. Surghar range is a watershed between the tributaries of Kurram and tiny tributaries of Indus. If the Surghar was the boundary between Bannu and Isakhel regions, then Isakhel was a small territory. The town of Isakhel lies few miles north of Kurram river which perhaps was the southern boundary of the sub-division. So the boundaries of Isakhel were, possibly, natural.

In this way, the sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel was bounded by the Bangash hills on the north; tuman of Kohat on the north-east; Indus on the east; Dasht of Bazar

281 Gazetteer of the North-West Frontier, Vol. IV, Simla, 1887, p. 1919.

282 BN, p. 233.

and Taq on the south and high mountain ranges, separating Kabul basin from the Kurram system, on the west. Thus, sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel, physiographically speaking, was the Kurram river basin, with, of course, a few stray areas lying outside it.

In the preceding section, a part of Bannu region and the whole of Isakhel region, has been identified as an area of relative isolation. Unlike hilly areas lying west of it, in Bannu region people belonging to various ethnic groups were living. This was noted by Babar. "The Bannu lands are cultivated by the Kuram, Kiwi, Sur, Isakhail and Nia-zai of Afghan tribes men."[283] The fertile lands of the sarkar, suitable for settled agriculture, lying not far away from the nuclear regions attracted these tribal groups. This region was exposed to Hindustan, as Dinkot ferry lay in the Isakhel region.[284] The other important ferry, Chaupara,[285] lay south of Dinkot in Bannu region.

Isakhel was more exposed to the influences of Punjab and Hindustan as it lay east of Bannu. This is evident from the fact that the kingdom of Shershah Suri based at Delhi extended west of Indus only upto Isakhel region.[286]

283 Ibid.

284 Ibid., p. 206; Ain, II, p. 406.

285 Ibid.

286 Caroe, pp. 139, 196.

Incidently most of this region does not belong to the Kurram river basin.[287]

2.3.1.4 Sarkar of Pakli

Hwen Thsang places the district of U-La-shi or Urasa between Taxila and Kashmir which by its position, may at once be identified with the Varsa Regio of Ptolemy, and with the modern district of Rash, in Dhantawar, to the west of Muzafarabad.[288] This region corresponds to the sarkar of Pakli of Akbar and Jahangir. According to Ain, it was a sarkar of the suba of Kabul but after the separation of Kashmir and Kabul it was attached to the suba of Kashmir. In fact prior to Mughal rule in this region "the rulers of this district (Pakli) generally paid tribute to Kashmir".[289] (See Map 2.9)

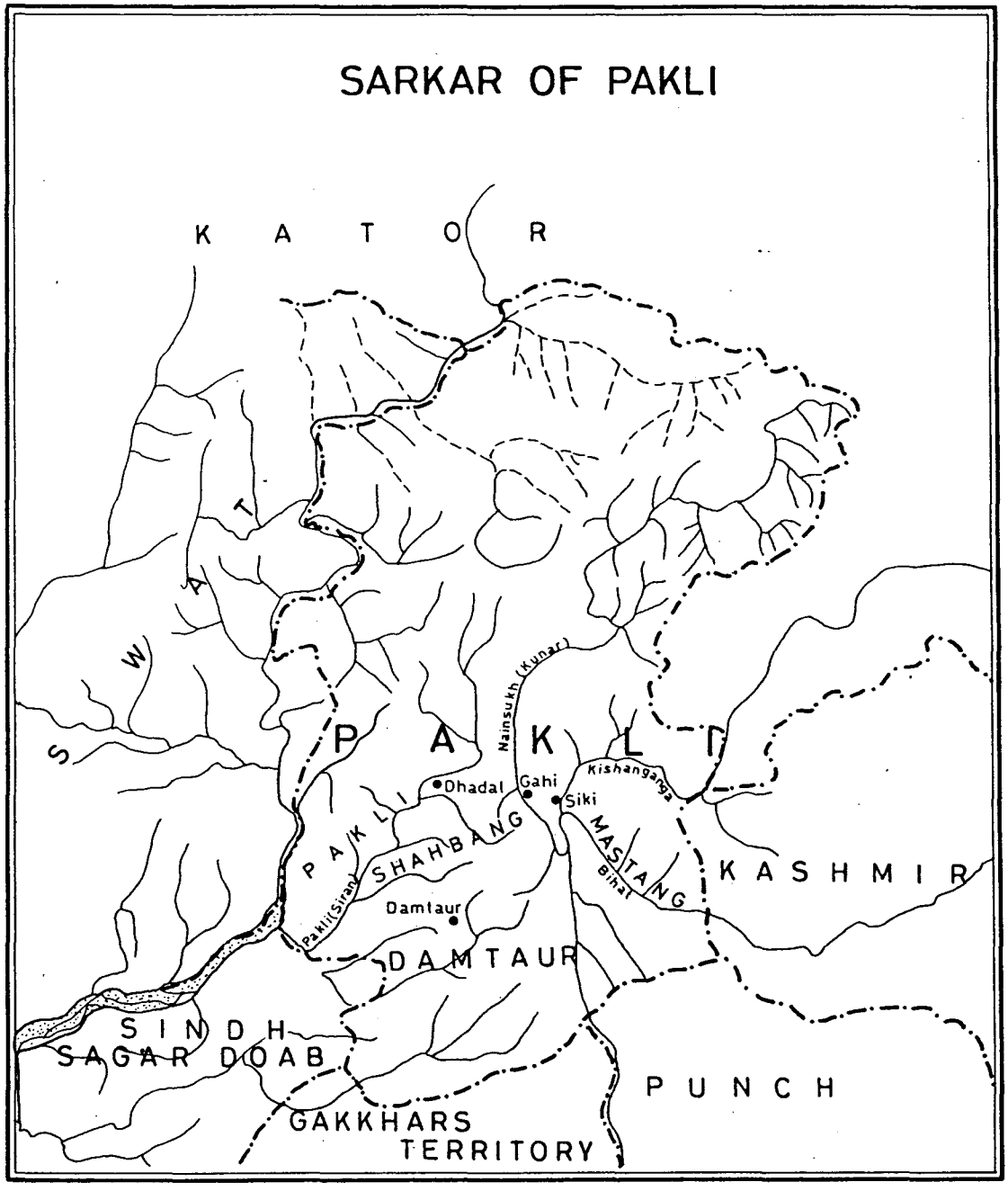
The extent and boundaries of the sarkar of Pakli have been clearly mentioned by both Abul Fazl and Jahangir. "Its length is 35 and its breadth 25 kos. It is bounded on the east by Kashmir, on the north by Kator, on the south by the territory of the Gakhars, and on the west by Atak Benares."[290] The boundary between Kashmir and Pakli

287 The Isakhel region at present is a part of Mianwali district of Pakistani Punjab, while rest of Bannu region became a part of the North West Frontier Provinces.

288 Cunningham, p. 87.

289 Ain, II, p. 397.

290 Ibid. Jahangir also gives more or less the same des-


SARKAR OF PAKLI
K A T O R
S W A T
P A K L I
Nainsukh (Kunar)
Dhadal
Gahi
Siki
Kishanganga
PAKLI
SHAHBANG
MASTANG
Bihat
Paklí(Siran)
Damtaur
DAMTAUR
KASHMIR
SINDH
SAGAR DOAB
PUNCH
GAKKHARS
TERRITORY

Map 2·9

was near Buliyas or Bulias,[291] which was located along the Jhelum (Bihat) gorge route. The boundary between these two sarkars in the hilly regions of the north and south is, however, difficult to ascertain. It is still more difficult to delineate the northern boundary between Pakli and Kator. Possibly Indus Kohistan separated these two territories. The western boundary of the sarkar, no doubt followed the Indus river, which separated the sarkars of Swat and Pakli. The boundary on the south was also well defined as it followed a fairly high mountain range.

The sarkar of Pakli had two divisions. The region lying between Bulias and Kishan Ganga was known as Mastang.[292] Bulias was "the end of the country of Kashmir and the beginning of the territory of Mastang. This name is applied to the country from Bulias to the Kishan Gang."[293] No further information is available about the territory of Mastang, its lands, people, products and rulers. Most of this region consists of high mountain ranges, with very

Cont'd.. f.n. 290

> cription "The sarkar of Pakli is 35 kos in length and 25 in breadth. On the east, on two sides, is the hill country of Kashmir; on the west, Atak Benaras (Atak); on the north, Kator; and on the south, the Gakkar country." TJ, II, p. 126.

291 AN, III, p. 850; TJ, II, pp. 140-141.

292 AN, III, p. 850. Variant Pushang. I.O. MS. 236 appears to have Hainak.

293 AN, III, p. 850.

little possibility for human habitation. It might have been practically uninhabited during the period under study.

The region lying west of Kishan Ganga and Bihat (Jhelum) upto Pakli river was known as Shahbang.[294] This part of Pakli sarkar, was under two zamindars. The zamindar of the territory of Pakli, north of Damtaur and in the valley of Sirhan, was Sultan Husain. The territory of Pakli was physically well defined, excepting, perhaps on the north. It was bounded on the west by Indus; on the south-east and east by a range which separates Sirhan valley from Dor valley, and, on the north-east by Kishan Ganga. The northern boundary is difficult to delineate. Dhadial or Dadhal[295] was the principal village of the territory.

To the south of the territory of Pakli was the territory of Damtaur, in the valley of Dor river. It is bounded on the north and north-west by the territory of Pakli; on the south by the Gakkhar territory, and, on the west by Bihat. When Babar visited Kashmir in 1589 the zamindar of Damtaur was Shahrukh.[296] At the time of Jahangir's visit to Kashmir the zamindar of the territory was Bahadur, son of Shahrukh.[297]

294 In fact the name mentioned by Abul Fazl in AN, III, p. 850 is once again Mastang, which is not possible, so the varient Shahbang in I.O. MS., p. 236 seems correct.

295 AN, III, p. 851.

296 Ibid.

297 TJ, II, p. 126.

Regarding the origin of the people of Pakli and Damtaur Jahangir mentions, "they say themselves that they are Qarlughs."[298] They came with the troops of Timur and while going back to the capital of Turan "he placed in these regions this body of people."[299] According to Ain, "the language of the country differs from that of Kashmir, Hindustan or Zabulistan."[300] But Jahangir was quite convinced that these people "are pure Lahauris and speak the same language."[301] The zamindars of Pakli and Damtaur were related to each other, but they used to fight over the boundaries of the territory. The territory of Pakli as compared to Damtaur was more fertile and very good for fruit cultivation. The zamindar of Pakli was holding a higher mansab as compared to the zamindar of Damtaur.[302]

It is clear that like other sarkars of suba of Kabul Pakli had a defined region separated by certain significant physical features from the surrounding territories. The physical exclusiveness of the region, "helped in the development of a distinct culture and language. The Mughals, especially Jahangir, considered the linguistic boundary as the boundary of the region.[303] That is how the sarkar of Pakli came into existence.

298 TJ, II, p. 126.

299 Ibid.

300 Ain, II, p. 397.

301 TJ, II, p. 126.

302 Ibid., p. 127.

303 Ibid., p. 141.

2.3.1.5 Sarkar of Kashmir

The kingdom of Kashmir was having well defined physical boundaries since ancient times. But during the times of certain powerful kings, the natural boundaries of the Kashmir were over-looked and the kings of Kashmir extended their empire by conquering surrounding territories. There are various references to this effect in Kalhana's Raja Tarangini, which traced back the dynastic history of the kings of Kashmir. Abul Fazl, with the help of this book provide us with a long list of kings who ruled over the Kashmir for more than four thousand years.

The Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, who visited Kashmir in seventh century (AD 631-633) describes the land and people of Kashmir in detail. With the help of his account Cunningham was able to delimit the political boundaries of the Kingdom which seems to be extended "from the Indus on the north to the Salt range on the south and from the Indus on the west to Ravi on the east."[304] But it seems that so called glorious periods in the political history of the Kashmir were limited and usually the king of Kashmir were the rulers of the valley only.

Mirza Haider, Abul Fazl and Jahangir describes the valley of Kashmir in detail as they were highly impressed by the beauty of the region. From their description of the Kashmir, it is clear that during the period under study the

304 Cunningham, p. 76.

kingdom or sarkar of Kashmir was limited only to the valley. of Kashmir. Although the extent of the Kashmir given by Mirza Haider, Abul Fazl and Jahangir varies significantly from one another but this difference was mainly due to the faulty measurement rather than any other reason.[305]

According to Ain, the sarkar of Kashmir during the times of Akbar was surrounded on the east by Paristan and the river Chenab: on the south-east Banihal and the Kammu mountains: on the north-east, Great Tibet: on the west, Pakli and Kishan Ganga river: on the south-west, the Gakkar country: on the north-west, little Tibet. It is encompassed on all sides by the Himalayan ranges." Though the above description of the boundaries is not sufficient for delimiting the sarkar of Kashmir but with the help of the description of parganas in the Ain and detail itinaries of Akbar and Jahangir in Kashmir made it possible for us to delimit the political-administrative boundaries of the sarkar.

305 Mirza Haider mentions that Kashmir "is a level expanse /of/ about a hundred Kruh in length. Its width is at some parts, about twenty Kruh, and in a few places ten Kruh". TR, p. 424. The word Kruh or Kuroh is the Persian form for the familiar Kro or Kos of India. According to Abul Fazl, "Its length from Qambar Ver to Kishan Ganga is 120 and its breadth from 10 to 25 kos." Ain, II, p. 351. Jahangir mentions that the figures given by Abul Fazl were mere guess and conjectures and to check it he "appointed a number of trustworthy and intellegent men to measure the length and breadth with ropes (tanab). The result was that what the Shaikh wrote as 120 kos came out as 67." Jahangir further mentions that "the boundary of a country is the place up to which people speak the language of that country, it follows that the boundary of Kashmir is Buliyasa, which is 11 kos on this

In the presence of the detailed study of the sarkar of Kashmir during the times of Akbar and Jahangir it is not necessary to discuss it again. For this study a map showing pargana boundaries has been taken from the Atlas prepared by us.[306] A look at this map gives us a clear idea of the impact of the physical features over the political-administrative boundaries of the sarkar of Kashmir. Pargana boundaries, in the absence of any significant physical barriers, however, were difficult to deliniate. This problem was overcome with the help of the contemporary sources and the account of the European travellers.[307] (See Map 2.10)

2.3.1.6 Sarkar of Qandahar

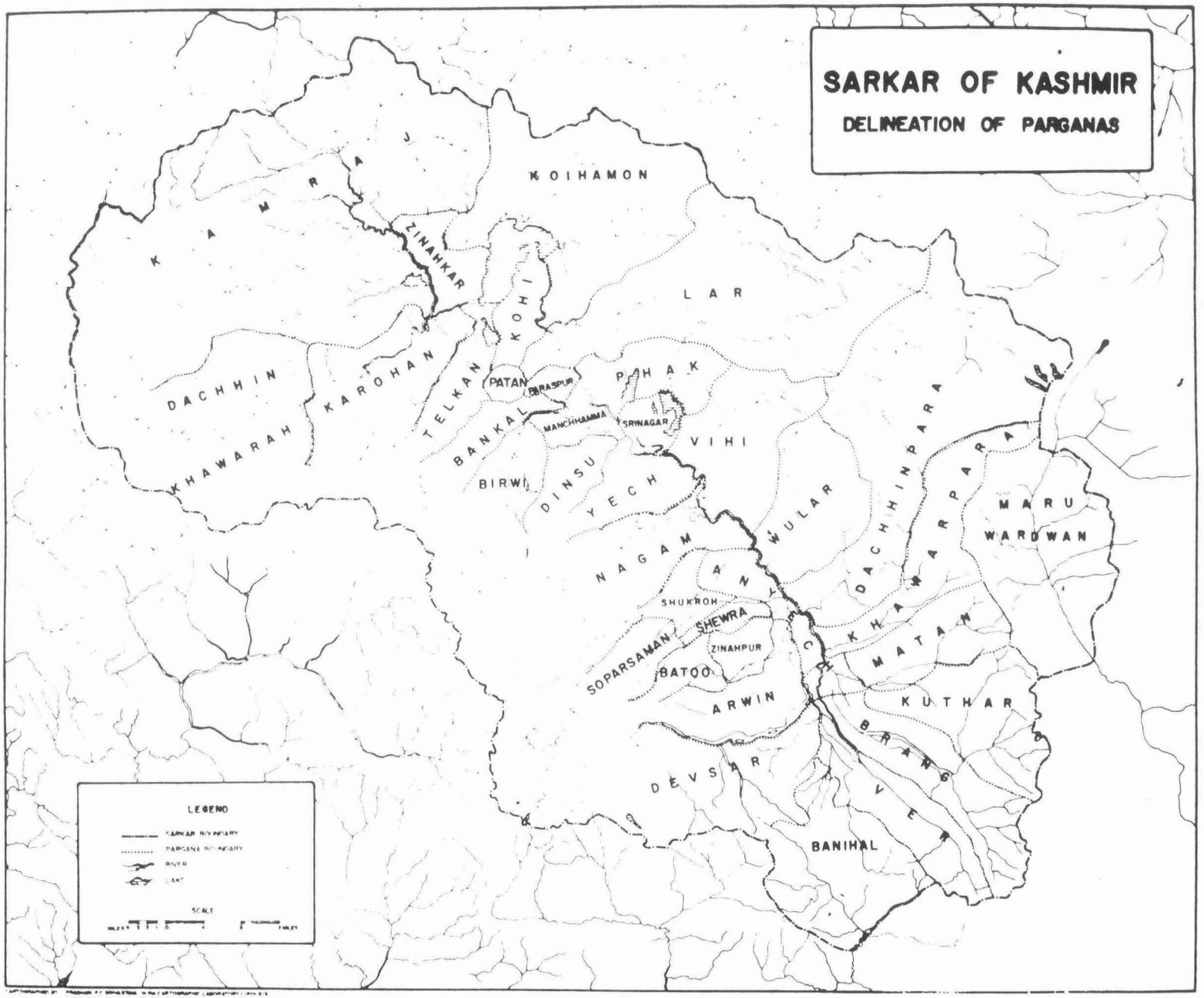
Politically the Qandahar region had not been a part of the Kabul region. It is hence necessary to know the political developments of the period of early Mughals, which compelled them to capture Qandahar time and again. In the sixteenth century a three cornered fight developed among the Uzbeks, the Safavids and the Mughals. All three powers continually bumped against each other in a line

Cont'd.. f.n. 305

side (i.e. east) of the Kishan Ganga. So according to the preceding figures, the length of Kashmir is 56 (67-11) kos. The variation in breadth were found to be not more than 2 kos." TJ, II, p. 141.

306 Ain, II, p. 351.

307 I worked under the directorship of Prof. Moonis Raza, on a ICHR project "Preparation of An Atlas of Mughal Empire." For this project more than 20 maps have been prepared for Kashmir only.


SARKAR OF KASHMIR
DELINEATION OF PARGANAS
KAMRAJ
KOIHAMON
ZINAHKAR
LAR
DACHHIN KHAWARAH
KAROHAN
TELKAN KOHI
PATAN
BARASPUR
BANKAL
MANCHHAMMA
SRINAGAR
PAHAK
VIHI
BIRWI
DINSU
YECH
NAGAM
WULAR
DACHHINPARA
KHAWARPARA
MARU WARDWAN
SHUKROH
SHEWRA
ZINAHPUR
SOPARSAMAN
BATOO
ARWIN
CHAKMATAW
KUTHAR
BRARI
DEVSAR
VERI
BANIHAL
LEGEND
SARKAR BOUNDARY
PARGANA BOUNDARY
RIVER
LAKE
SCALE

Map 2.10

running from Kabul to Qandahar.[308]

The Qandahar region, as mentioned earlier, lay out side the Indus basin i.e. in Hilmand - Arghandab basin. The Safavids and the Mughals seem to have been aware of this. The Hindukush was accepted as the boundary between Kabul, Balkh and Badakhshan both by the Uzbeks and the Mughals. Neither party, however, gave up its claims for Balkh and Badakhshan completely. However, the Mughals ruled over Kabul with little outside threat. The case of Qandahar was somewhat different. It remained a trouble spot between the Safavids and the Mughals. Its possession was claimed by both on strategic and economic grounds. Later on, it became a question of sentiments and a point of prestige to hold it.

Qandahar had been a part of the Timurid empire and was being ruled over by Babar's cousins, the rulers of Herat. They were defeated by Uzbeks in 1507. Babar also held Qandahar briefly.[309] When the Safavids defeated the Uzbek Chief, Shaibani Khan, and captured Herat and the rest of Khurasan, they also claimed Qandahar. For the next fifteen years, however, Qandahar remained in the hands of semi-independent governors who tendered their allegiance to the Mughals or to the Safavids as it suited their convenience. Qandahar came under Babar's control again in

308 Louis Dupree, p. 321.

309 R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, Allahabad, 1972, p. 14.

1522 when the Uzbeks were threatening Khurasan once again. In such a situation the rulers of Persia did not object to it. However, when Humayun sought help and shelter at the court of Shah Tahmasp, the king of Persia agreed to help him provided he transferred Qandahar to Iran after its conquest from Kamran.[310] Humayun had no choice, so he agreed. However after its conquest Humayun found excuses to keep it under his control.[311] In fact, Qandahar was his base of operation against Kamran in Kabul. Shah Tahmasp captured Qandahar taking advantage of the confusion following Humayun's death. Akbar made no effort to regain it.

Strategically, Qandahar was vital for the defence of Kabul. The fort of Qandahar was amongst the strongest forts of the whole region and was well provided with water. Its location on the Kabul-Herat routes gave the city a position of immense strategic importance. Moreover, the possession of Qandahar made it easier to control the Afghan and Baluch tribes.

The importance of Qandahar for the Mughals increased later basically due to two reasons. Firstly, after the conquest of Sind and parts of Baluchistan, Akbar felt it necessary to annex Qandahar which was strategically located and was a rich and fertile region, and, secondly, the Uzbeks under Abdullah Uzbek posed a renewed threat to Iran

310 AN, I, pp. 471-472 etc.

311 Ibid., p. 472.

and to the Mughals. The Mughal conquest of Qandahar in 1595 was not a part of an agreement to partition the Persian empire between Akbar and the Uzbeks as some modern historians have argued. It was more to establish a viable defensive line in the north-west against a possible Uzbek invasion, since Khorasan had passed under Uzbek control by that time, and Qandahar was cut off from Persia.[312]

Despite the Mughal conquest of Qandahar, the relations between Iran and India continued to be cordial. Shah Abbar I (1588-1629), perhaps the greatest of the Safavid rulers, was keen to maintain good relations with Jahangir. The cordiality of relations came to an abrupt end as Shah Abbas in 1620 sent a polite request for the restoration of Qandahar and made preparation for attacking it. Jahangir was taken by surprise for he was diplomatically isolated and militarily unprepared for it. Qandahar, thus passed into the hands of the Persians in 1622.[313]

With this brief account of the political developments of the region it is clear that Qandahar was not considered as an integral part of Kabul, possibly due to physical as well as cultural differences between these two regions. However, due to various economic strategic, and at times emotional considerations it was included in the Mughal empire. The Mughal rule over Qandahar could never be effective, with Delhi/Agra as its base. Moreover,

312 Tripathi, pp. 307-308.

313 Ibid., p. 390.

except for the Qandahar regions (city and adjacent region in the Hilmand basin) and the Pashang-Shal Mas tang - Qalat axis, the rest of the sarkar was more or less unknown to the Mughal administrators. Tribal territories mentioned in Ain are rather difficult to locate. Firstly, because there was very little knowledge of these territories, and secondly, because there were extensive movements of the tribal groups, which made their distribution pattern illusive.

The Qandahar was the largest sarkar in terms of area, not only in the suba of Kabul but also in the total empire.[314] According to Ain, Qandahar's "length from Qalat Banjarah[315] to Ghor[316] and Gharijistan[317] is 300 kos; its breadth from Sind to Farah is 260 kos."[318] The boundaries of this extensive sarkar are difficult to locate in some peripheral areas of Qandahar region which were only marginally known and thinly populated. Abul Fazl, provides

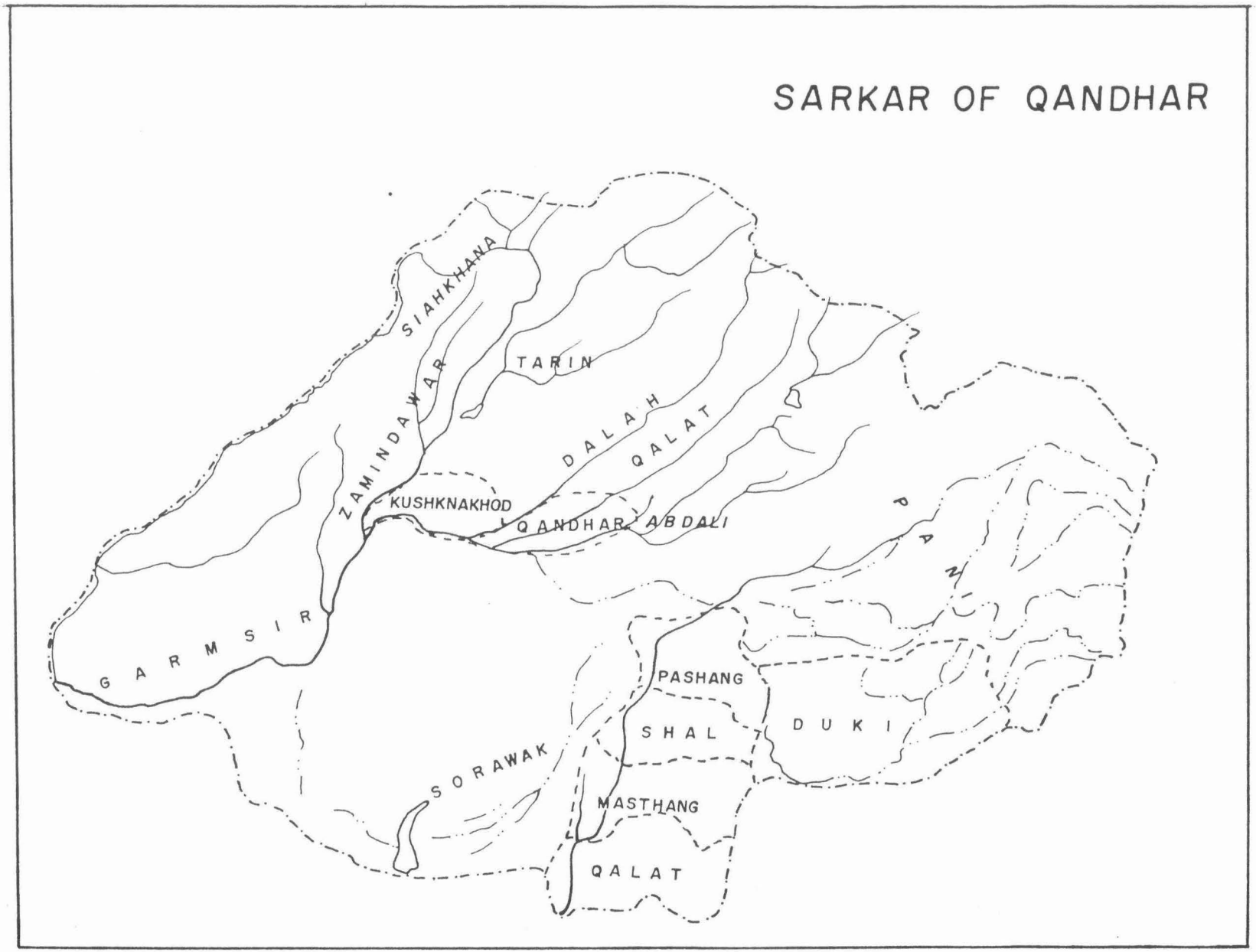
314 Total area of the sarkar of Qandahar is given as 84,944 sq. miles by Irfan Habib (Atlas, pp. vii-viii).

315 Referred to as Qalat-i-Nichara. Elphinstone referred to it as 'Kalaut-i-Nusser'. Any way Qalat lay south of Mashtang territory.

316 Ghor region was the part of Herat region of Khurasan at that time.

317 Gharijistan was also a part of Herat region. According to Erskine it was in the Upper Valley of the Murghab.

318 Ain, II, p. 199.


SARKAR OF QANDHAR
SIAHKHANA
TARIN
ZAMINDAWAR
DALAH
QALAT
KUSHKNAKHOD
QANDHAR
ABDALI
GARMSIR
PASHANG
SHAL
DUKI
SORAWAK
MASTHANG
QALAT

Map 2·11

sarkar of Qandahar. On the other hand all the territories belonging to various tribal groups and lying south of Daur, Bannu and Isakhail sarkar were included in the sarkar of Qandahar. These hilly regions were, however, mostly unknown to outsiders and so it is rather impossible to imagine that these regions were in any way under the effective rule of the Mughals. The only important territory in this region was Duki.

Territories included in the Qandahar region are not difficult to locate, but their delineation is rather difficult. Away from the Qandahar city, many of the tribal territories are impossible to identify. However, all the important territories, Garmsir, Zamindawar, Kushk Nakhod, Qandahar, Qalat, Dakhah and Tarin lay in the river valleys of the tributaries of Hilmand Arghandab rivers. The territory of Sorawak lay on the southern margin of the southern Sandy Desert region of Afghanistan, west of Pashang-Qalat axis.

2.3.2 Suba of Lahor

Lahor was one of the most prosperous subas of India during the times of Akbar. Its revenue collection of about 56 kror dams[322] was second only to the suba of Delhi which collected about 60 kror dams. The suba of Lahor, which was appropriately extended from 30° 50' to 34° 10' north

322 At the time of Ain, one rupee was worth 40 dams.

latitude and 69° 50' to 77° 15' east longitude, was twice as long as it was wide. Its length according to Ain "from the river Satlaj (Sutlej) to the Sind river is 180 kos. Its breadth from Bhimbar to Chaukhandi,[323] one of the dependencies of Satgarah, is 86 kos."[324]

The suba of Lahor, as compared to the suba of Kabul was compact and well defined. The extent and boundaries of the suba on the north and west were more or less defined by physical features. The Indus river formed the boundary between the subas of Lahor and Kabul, the only exceptions being the two parganas of Below and Dhankot, which although located on the west of Indus were included in the sarkars of Birun-i-Panjnad and Sindh Sargar Doab of the suba.[325] According to Ain, Kashmir borders Lahor in the north.[326] This is, however, not correct as between these two territories lie the independent states of Rajauri and Punch,[327]

323 In this regard it is better to mention that due to the absence of any map of the subas or empire Abul Fazl was not in a position to locate the farthest points of reference. Invariably he refers to the more famous points than the farthest ones to describe the extent and boundaries of subas and sarkars.

324 Ain, II, p. 315.

325 Possibly, it was due to the fact that the control of the officials over the tribal territories lying west of Indus was marginal and so to keep the important ferrys at both places under control these two parganas were included in the suba of Lahor.

326 Ain, II, p. 315.

327 It is perplexing how, Habib in the Kashmir sheet (3 A) has included both, Punch and Rajauri within the boundaries of Kashmir, when he has shown the bounda-

with suzeraint chiefs the boundaries of which are not difficult to identify as they lie in the hilly areas.

The southern boundary of the suba of Lahor is physically undefined and so the boundary between Lahor and Multan was less permanent and difficult to delineate. However, the boundary between Lahor and Multan subas has been delineated with the help of Ain's list of parganas. The boundary between Lahor and Delhi was demarcated by the river Sutlej.

The interrelationship between physical and political-administrative boundaries is best apparent in the suba of Lahor. The five doabs of upper Punjab, became the five sarkars of the subas. In this case, rivers became the natural and obvious boundaries of the sarkars, although they were in no way the physical and cultural barriers. In fact, in certain cases pargana headquarters lie on one side of the river, while lands attached to them, lie on the other side of the river.

The five well defined sarkars are as follows:

2.3.2.1 Sarkar of the Bet Jalandhar Doab

The Bet Jalandhar or Bist Doab, was significantly larger in area during the times of Akbar that it is today. As mentioned earlier, during the period under study, Beas

Cont'd.. f.n. 327

ries as they were in 1595. In the contemporary sources nowhere are they referred to as a part of Kashmir.

was still pouring its water directly into the river Chenab. Only the northern portion of this long doab was included in the suba of Lahor. But is is interesting to note here that the boundary between Lahor and Multan in this doab was at the present meeting point of the Beas and Sutlej rivers.

2.3.2.2 Sarkar of the Bari Doab

The Bari doab was considerably smaller in size during the period under study. But the size of the sarkar of Bari doab of Lahor was the same, as the river Beas was forming the boundary between subas of Lahor and Multan. Thus, the river Beas formed the boundary of the sarkar of the Bari doab of Lahor on the east and south. River Ravi formed the boundary of the sarkar on the west. The northern portion of this strip-like doab is hilly and was ruled over by some semi-independent rulers.

2.3.2.3 Sarkar of the Rachna Doab

Most of the Rachna doab was included in the suba of Lahor. In fact, only five out of sixty-two mahals of this doab were included in the sarkar of Rachna doab of Multan. It is rather impossible to provide any geographical explanation for the exclusion of these five mahals from the suba of Lahor. It may be noted here that nearly all the identified mahals of the sarkar are located either along the

rivers or are in the northern hills. Boundaries of the sarkar were more or less well formed by the rivers, with the only exception of the south, where the boundary between Lahor and Multan possibly ran parallel to the north of the river Ravi.

2.3.2.3. Sarkar of the Chenhat Doab

In case of the Chenhat doab there is no problem of delineation of the boundary between subas of Lahor and Multan, as the whole doab lies in the sarkar of the Chenhat doab of Lahor. The boundaries of the sarkar are well marked by the rivers of Chenab and Behat (Jhelum). In the mountainous north of the doab lay the territories of Punch and Rajouri.

2.3.2.4 Sarkar of the Sindh Sagar Doab

The Sindh Sagar doab, was the largest but the least productive sarkar of the suba of Lahor. More than three-fourths of the doab is still a desert or semi-desert and without proper irrigational facilities agricultural production here has been insignificant. The Potwar Plateau and the Salt Range lie in the northern sub-montane Indus region and was the home land of the Ghakkar. The territory of Ghakkars was well-defined and it seems that they were suzeraint to the Mughal Kings. However, in the Ain, the

mahals in which they were dominant are entered in the sarkar of Sindh Sagar Doab. The boundaries of this sarkar are physically well defined, except in the south.

2.3.2.5 Birun-i-Panjnad (beyond the Five Rivers)

It is difficult to call it a sarkar. The mahals which were included in it were at the extreme ends of the suba. For example, Belot and Kahlor mahals are located in the extreme west and extreme east of the suba. The whole suba, with its five sarkars, lies in between. This proves our point once again that political boundaries were strictly formed on the basis of geographical location of the places. Thus, the regions lying outside the five doabs were included in this category of Birun-i-Panjnad.

2.3.3 Suba of Multan

The traditional suba of Multan, like suba of Lahor, lay in the Upper Punjab plains. But during the later years of Akbar's reign, due to various socio-political considerations, Bhakkar and Thatta, which were till then independent states conquered by the Mughals, were kept under the suba of Multan. This was an ad hoc decision but was followed due to some political consideration for a considerable period. This will be discussed later. Here it will suffice to say that Multan and Thatta regions were signifi-

cantly different from one another physically, culturally and politically.

The suba of Multan, however, after the inclusion of Thatta, extended approximately from 23° 55' to 31° 25' north latitude and 66° 40' to 75° 15' east longitude. According to Ain it was bounded on the east by the sarkar of Sirhind, on the north by the pargana of Shor (of Rachna Doab of Lahor Suba); on the south by the suba of Ajmer and on the west by Khach[328] and Mekran.[329] It is obvious that the suba of Multan of Ain was not historically or traditionally one region but was separated from the surrounding territories by natural barriers.

Akbar's suba of Multan had quite well defined physical boundaries but, at places, due to certain political or socio-economic considerations, political and physical boundaries did not coincide. It has already been mentioned that the boundary between subas of Multan and Lahor had no physical basis and emerged due to historical imperatives. The Thar desert on the east must have been more or less a permanent boundary between the subas of Multan and Ajmer, although few parganas of suba Multan were located within the adjoining desert. The Arabian sea provided a permanent southern boundary to the Thatta region. Kirthar range de-

328 This spelling of the word has also been maintained by Habib (Atlas Sheet 5A) and has nothing to do with the Cutch region of present Gujarat.

329 Ain, II, p. 329.

marcated the western boundary of the Thatta region while in the north-west, hills of the sub-montane Indus region separated it from the sarkar of Qandahar of the suba of Kabul.

Suba of Multan, before the annexation of Thatta, was divided into three sarkars and "its length from Firozpur and Sewistan was 403 kos and its breadth from Khatpur to Jaisalmer, 108 kos."[330] Two, out of its three sarkars, viz. Multan and Dipalpur, lay mostly in doabs of Upper Indus plain like sarkars of suba of Lahor. The third sarkar of the suba Bhakkar was situated in the Lower Indus plains and had traditionally not been a part of Multan.

For a better understanding of the space relations within the region, it is necessary to discuss the extent and boundaries of the sarkars of the suba of Multan separately.

2.3.3.1 Sarkar of Multan

It is difficult to provide any physical justification of the boundaries of the sarkar, as unlike in the suba of Lahor, the sarkar boundary cut across doabs in Multan. However, the sarkar of Multan was surrounded by the sarkars of Sind Sagar and Rachna doabs of Lahor in the north, sarkar of Dipalpur in the east; sarkar of Bikaner on the south-

330 Ibid.

east, sarkar of Bhakkar on the south-west and sarkar of Qandahar on the west.

The sarkar of Multan, was sub-divided into four doabs. This division of the sarkar into doabs was obviously based on physical consideration and can be easily understood. The remaining mahals of the sarkar belong to Birun-i-Panjnad. The boundary between sarkars of Multan and Dipalpur was quite unusual and cannot be explained as it cut across doabs in a complicated way. The boundary between sarkars of Multan and Bhakkar more or less coincided with the boundary between Upper and Lower Indus plains.

2.3.3.2 Sarkar of Dipalpur

The sarkar of Dipalpur lay in the north-east of the suba of Multan. There was hardly any physical barrier except the desert in the south which separated it from the other sarkars and subas. It was surrounded by the sarkars of south-east; sarkar of Bikaner of the suba of Ajmer on the south; sarkar of Multan on the west and sarkars of Rachna, Bari and Bet Jalandhar doabs of the suba of Lahor on the north. The sarkar of Dipalpur, like Multan, was sub-divided into doabs of Bet Jalandhar, Bari, Rachna and Birun-i-Panjnad.

2.3.3.3 Sarkar of Bhakkar

It has been mentioned earlier that the sarkar of

Bhakkar lay in the lower Indus plain. Interestingly it has never been included in the Multan region. Before the conquest of Bhakkar by Akbar, it was ruled by Sultan Muhmud, who had friendly relations and materimonial alliance with the king.[331] But in due course, Bhakkar became a prey to power politics of Imperial officers who captured most of its territory while the fort itself was surrendered after the death of the invalid ruler. As Bhakkar could not be constituted into a separate unit in itself, it was included in the suba of Multan and became the third sarkar an arrangement which was initially dictated by historical development but became permanent and continued till the end of the Mughal rule. For a brief period, i.e., till the conquest of Thatta, it enjoyed the status of an important military out post of the empire.[332]

2.3.3.4 Sarkar of Thatta

It seems that in the beginning the Mughals were not really interested in the conquest of Thatta, as this semi-arid region with an unattractive income was being ruled by their Timurid cousins - Arghuns and Tarkhans. Some of the factors which influenced Akbar's decision to include Thatta or lower Sind in the empire were as follows. Jani

331 Khan, History and Culture of Sind, p. 68.

332 Ibid.

Beg, the ruler of Thatta, issued coins in his own name contradicting his promises of allegiance. Extraneous political happenings also forced the emperor to change his policy towards Thatta. During the 1580's serious problems arose on the north-western frontier of the empire. The Uzbegs, the old foes of the Mughals had occupied Badkhshan and were threatening Khursan, Kabul and Kashmir. Hakim Mirza, Akbar's step-brother and ruler of Kabul was behaving in a turbulent manner. The tribal groups, Afridis, Urakzai etc. were restive and threatened to severe communication with Kabul.

Strategically, Kabul, Qandahar and Kashmir formed the first line of defence of Akbar's empire. There defence needed full control over all the routes of access to the empire and over north-west India. In this connection possession of Siwistan was necessary for controlling the region adjoining the Bolan pass. The possession of Thatta sought to neutralize possible Safavid designs. The effective control of the entire frontier region, leading to the annexation of Kashmir and Thatta, was bound to effectively demonstrate and strengthen Akbar's claims of paramount suzerainty. The fear of a possible intervention from them did not allow him to leave any political or military vacuum, or, a weak state in any sector of the western frontier.[333]

333 Ibid., p. 52.

The territory of Thatta, although included in the suba of Multan, enjoyed a unique status. This status was determined by several factors like, the Imperial decress, the geo-political conditions and historical traditions. The Mughal empire was divided into the provinces and the vassal states, but Thatta occupied an undefined position. In some respects it resembled a province, and in others, a vassal state.[334]

Akbar wanted to make Thatta a regular province of the empire, but later he decided to restore Thatta, excluding Siwistan and Bander Lahri to Jani Beg. Thus the position of the Tarkhans as the traditional rulers of the region remained undisturbed. However, they had neither any abstract legal title to their sovereignty, nor could they claim any freedom in their internal affairs. They enjoyed internal autonomy to the extent to which the imperial government allowed.

Thatta remained grouped with Multan for administrative purposes and was regarded as its fourth sarkar. But in fact it was a restored vassal state enloying freedom in its internal affairs. The arrangement continued till Jahangir added Qandahar to Thatta and handed it over to Mirza Ghazi.[335] This shows a change in the political status of Thatta. After the death of Mirza, Jahangir sent

334 Ibid., p. 103.

335 TJ, I, p. 224.

"Abdur-Razzaq, the bakhshi of the palace to settle the country of Thatta until a Sardar should be appointed..."[336] It is not clear whether Thatta was given the status of a suba by Jahangir but it is quite definite that its status was higher than that of a mere sarkar. "It appears as a suba in its own right first in the Bayaz-i-Khwushbui belonging to the early years of Shahjahan's reign."[337]

In the Ain itself, a separate section is devoted to Thatta and this so called sarkar of Thatta is divided into five sarkars. It is better to treat Thatta or lower Punjab plain (minus Bhakkar) as a separate region as it has more or less well defined physical boundaries. According to Ain the length of the sarkar of Thatta "from Bhakkar to Kach and Mekran is 257 kos, its breadth from the town of Budin to Bandar Lahari, 100 kos; and again from the town of Chando, one of the dependencies of Bhakkar, to Bikaner is 60 kos."[338] It is apparent, once again, that Abul Fazl was not in a position to indicate the real extent of Thatta as the choice of places he referred to was not correct.

Sarkar/suba of Thatta had fairly well defined physical boundaries and also had a significantly different political, social and economic history as compared to the surrounding regions. Kirthar range delimited its boundary

336 Ibid., p. 225.

337 Habib, Atlas, p. 13.

338 Ain, II, p. 338.

on the west, Arabian sea and Rann of Cutch on the south and Thar desert on the east. The boundary in the north, between Thatta and Bhakkar, had no physical basis and emerged due to adjustments arising out of the changing political scene. The Thatta region, or lower Sind, was the southern most portion of the Indus basin.

It is difficult, however, to provide any physical basis for the division of Thatta into five sarkars e.g. Thatta, Chachgan, Sasarpur, Siwistan and Chakarhala. As mentioned earlier, there is hardly any physical barrier within the region excepting the Indus river. It is, however, interesting to note that apart from the sarkar of Nasarpur and Chachgan all the other sarkars were located on both sides of the river Indus.

2.4 CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the detailed study of the physical, cultural and political-administrative regions of the North West India attempted in this chapter, it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

i) NorthWest India, apart from the Qandahar region, which remained with the Mughals for a brief period of time, consisted of the Indus river basisn. Due to the significant physical variations within the Indus basin, it was divided into four major physiographic divisions. It was found that the Northern Mountain Complex, one of the most

rugged regions of the world, with inhospitable climatic conditions, was not suitable either for agriculture or for any other economic activity and thus was extremely sparsely populated, the only exceptions being the beautiful valley of Kashmir. The Kabul river basin, though generally hilly with rugged topography, had some beautiful river valleys, with pleasant climate, productive soil suitable for agriculture and fruit production and for human settlement. The submontane Indus region with Baluchistan ranges was a complex region with innumerable hills, broad river plains, Patwar Plateau and Salt Range. Apart from Bannu and Kohat plains, and Potwar Plateau the whole region was extremely rugged and unproductive. Of the two plains of Indus, the Upper Indus Plain (Punjab) was far more productive than the Lower Indus Plain (Sind) due to the nature of social and water supply. The Punjab region was not only the most productive region of North-West India, but was among the most prosperous in the whole country. In the Hilmand-Arghandab river basin Qandahar and Ghazni regions were the areas with suitable physical conditions for agriculture and fruit production, the other areas were either hilly or desertic.

ii) While identifying and describing the broad cultural regions of the North-West India, it was found that the impact of physical factors in the evolution of the society and culture of the region had been very significant. The areas with productive soils, suitable climatic condi-

tions, easy accessability, remained more dynamic and were occupied by the people belonging to different ethnic origins while the areas with rugged terrain, infertile soil, extreme climatic conditions, were occupied by a single tribal group who preferred or were forced to live in isolation. In between these two extreme types of regions there were some areas, which had a unique mixture of the older and dynamic cultures. It was found that during the period of the Early Mughals, the fertile Punjab plains (except for the Sind Sagar Doab), the valley of Peshawar, the Jalalabad region, the Kabul region, the Ghazni and Qandahar regions, were economically developed and culturally most dynamic, and so have been identified in this study as the areas of attraction. The regions lying close to the areas of attraction, with not so suitable physical conditions e.g. the Punjab hills, the hills of the Peshawar, the Jalalabad and Kabul regions and the valley of the Tarnak river and other tributaries of the Hilmand closer to Qandahar became the areas of relative isolation, because of their proximity to the nuclear regions. The valley of Kashmir and the Sind region were also identified as the areas of relative isolation as they were lying away from the main communication lines, though otherwise they were quite suitable for agriculture and economic development. Most of the remaining region, consisting of the Northern Mountain Complex, the Sub-montane Indus and Baluchistan region

and the rugged and inaccessable regions of the Kabul Basin, have been identified as the area of isolation. This whole area was found to be occupied by different tribal groups living in varying degrees of isolation and without a sould economic base.

iii) After the reconstruction of the politico-administrative map of North-West India on the basis of Ain-i-Akbari and other contemporary sources, it was found that the politico-administrative divisions were formed on the basis of physical and cultural traits. It was found that the regions which were suitable for settled agriculture and other economic activities and were identified in this study as the areas of attraction also became politically significant. This was the main reason why the major towns/cities of the areas of attraction emerged as either the suba or sarkar headquarters depending upon political and strategic considerations. The important towns in the areas of relative isolation generally attained the status of sarkar headquarters. Kabul, the most important city, west of Indus, became the suba headquarter, while Qandahar could attain the status of sarkar headquarter. The other sarkar headquarters of the suba of Kabul were also important towns in their respective isolation. Kabul and Multan, the most important cities of the Punjab region became suba headquarters although both lay very close to each other. This can be attributed to the economic prosperity of the region.

iv) Finally on the basis of super-imposition of the physical, cultural and politico-administrative division of the region it has been found that the physical regions, directly and indirectly influenced the formation of cultural regions and in the ultimated analysis were responsible in the emergence of the political-administrative divisions. The reverse process has been found to be true. Because of political imperatures few regions became prominent without a soound economic base within this region. The best example is that of Ghazni, which was not really a region with any genuine qualities of an area of attraction but due to the fact that it became the seat of power for the powerful kings, the town and the region of Ghazni was developed by the resources looted or collected from outside. However the inter-relationship and inter-dependence between the physical, economic, sosicl and political phenomena in this region is quite apparent.

CHAPTER III

THE LINKAGES: REGIONAL IMPERATIVE

3.1 Bases of the Regional Linkages

3.1.1 Economic Bases

3.1.2 Political Bases

3.1.3 Social Bases

3.2 Physical Determinents of Linkages

3.2.1 Mountain Passes

3.2.2 River Fords

3.3 Technological Determinents of Regional Linkages

3.3.1 Bridges

3.3.2 Roads

3.3.3 Means of Transport

3.4 Conclusions

CHAPTER III

THE LINKAGES : REGIONAL IMPERATIVES

The inter-regional linkages in any historical period are determined by socio-political and economic factors and are manifested by a flow of goods and services, a movement of people, and in a money economy by the circulation of investment, money and credit. The extent and nature of these flows are determined by several factors like the economic base, physical structure of the region, contemporary political conditions and level of technological development.

The economic base of the region determines the volume and nature of the surplus commodities which are available for trade. The socio-political factors determine the inter-regional trade relations because in the event of unfavourable socio-political conditions, trade may not exist even among surplus regions. Regional linkages, to a great extent, are also determined by the physical structure of the region. Physical barriers, such as high mountain ranges, deserts and non-navigable and non-fordable rivers may pose serious problems in movement. The level of transport technology also plays an important role in determining the pattern and volume of trade and communication. The level of technology determines the potency of physical barriers and the extent to which trade can flow. In the present chapter we shall outline these imperatives to interregional

linkages during the early Mughal period in India.

The Chapter has been divided into three sections. In the first section, we have concerned overselves with the economic, political and social conditions specific to the period under study which determined the regional linkages. The economic parameters which we have considered are the general production base and the trading pattern. Under the political parameters we have considered the level of political stability and inter-regional political relations. Under the social parameters we have considered the level of social integration and cultural synthesis.

In the second section of the chapter we have discussed physical determinants of regional linkages. The main physical determinants of the inter-regional linkages were the mountain passes in the hilly terrains and river fords in the plain regions. While discussing mountain passes, an attempt has been made to locate important pass-routes which were being used in North-west India during the period under study. An attempt has also been made to determine the relative importance of these passes. For this exercise, contemporary sources have been used.

The last section of the chapter deals with the technological determinants of regional linkages. Three main technological determinants have been considered, namely:

- technology of bridge making, types of bridges in use and location of bridges in North-West India,

- the road making techniques of the period, and,
- the means of land and water transport.

3.1 BASES OF THE REGIONAL LINKAGES:

Each region consists of various human settlements which, at any level in the hierarchy, are not static features or a collection of Homo Dormies (inactive men). They comprise of a complex of oscillating and moving particles (the population and its products) with linkages connecting places of supply and demand. Routes establish and maintain these linkages. Thus, the natural function of a route is to connect settlements, and to act as a line of communication between them. In fact, routes perform the arterial function in the body of a region or nation.

It is rather difficult, due to paucity of information, to acertain the real nature of the linkages between various regions during the early Mughals, but it can be presumed, that some regions were more inter-linked and inter-dependent than others. Closely linked regions had well established routes, with constant flow of traffic over them. There were also regions without any routes of significance. The major routes had been used for various purposes, while less important routes were developed, generally for specific purposes.

In this section, an attempt has been made to analyse the bases for the regional linkages during the period under study. The analysis has been done at two levels. At the

general level we have tried to outline the economic, political and social conditions, which might have provided the bases for the regional linkages. While dealing with the economic bases of regional linkages, the general production base and trading pattern of the period has been discussed. Under the political factors, we have discussed the overall political condition, which must have necessitated close links among the various regions. While discussing the social basis of the regional linkages, an attempt has been made to analyse the possible social changes and compulsions necessitating these contacts.

3.1.1 Economic Bases

The economic base of a region plays an important role in the development of inter-regional links. It has already been mentioned while discussing the cultural regions that areas of attraction or perennial nuclear regions were more suitable for the development of agriculture because of favourable physical conditions. These regions were not only fertile but were linked with one another by well-established lines of communication. Favourable conditions helped the communities living in these areas to produce more than their own need and created some surplus which ultimately led to the development of few industries and allied activities in these regions.

Socio-physical diversities in the various regions led them to produce different commodities in varying quanti-

ties. This uneven production in the surplus and deficit regions was the main force behind the economic links between them. Obviously, economically prosperous regions were more closely linked with one another as compared to economically poor regions which could spare little for trade. Thus, economically poor regions remained in more or less, perfect socio-physical and economic isolation.

In the absence of data for production and population, it is not possible to assess either the surplus and deficit of various commodities in different regions, or the extent of import and export of these commodities. However, an attempt has been made here to indicate the economic base of various regions in order to establish the spatial variations in the production of different commodities of significance, which formed the backbone of inter-regional trade. An attempt has also been made to assess the level of development of manufacturing industries during the period under investigation especially in North-West India, because the trade in industrial products was significant. Finally, the main features of inter-regional trade during the period of the early Moghuls are discussed.

Agriculture: An important feature of the agriculture of the region under consideration was the large number of food and non-food crops raised by the local peasants.[1] There

1 T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol. II, Cambridge, 1982, p. 217.

was a significant regional variation in the cropping pattern so it is better to discuss some of the important crops and their distribution in the region.

Wheat according to Ain, was commonly grown in the Subas of Agra, Allahabad, Oudh, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Malwa, Ajmer, and Kabul[2] (in the Sarkars of Kabul and Qandahar). The wheat produced in Kabul and Qandhar were of a special quality. The Kabul wheat was black in colour and small in size. The Qandahar wheat was extremely white and was sent in gift to distant countries as a thing of value. The wheat of Kashmir was also small in grain and black in colour. Very little of it was produced and consumed.[3] However, it was in the Punjab plains that wheat was produced in large quantities and was a major food crop of the region.

Rice, as compared to wheat, is a tropical commodity, requiring for its successful cultivation plenty of water and high temperature and so in this region its production was limited only to a few areas. It was grown in the Subas of Lahore,[4] and Multan[5] and in the Sarkar of Kashmir. The chief producers of rice were the eastern Subas, while in our region, only in Kashmir, rice was grown in large quantities.[6] Jahangir refers to rice cultivation of

2 Ain, II, pp. 69-121.

3 Ibid., p. 353; T.J., II, p. 147.

4 Ain, II, p. 119.

5 Ibid., p. 121.

6 Ibid., p. 353; T.J., II, p. 147.

Kashmir in these words, "Rice is the principal crop. Probably there are three parts under rice and one under all other grains. The chief food of the people of Kashmir is rice but it is inferior".[7]

Millets consisting of cheaper food grains like jowar and bajra were grown on poorer soils and in areas of deficient rainfall and limited irrigation facilities. It was mainly cultivated in the Subas of Lahore[8] and Multan.[9]

Out of all valuable crops, cotton, and to a lesser degree silk, occupied a singular position in the economy of the period. Cotton requires volcanic soil, and, as such, was mainly produced in the black soil region of Malwa and Peninsular India. Some cotton was however, also grown in the Subas of Lahore[10] and Multan.[11] The prices of raw cotton, as given in Ain, show that after Malwa it was cheapest in Multan.

Silk can be produced wherever the summers are warm enough to grow the mulberry plant on which the silk worm feeds. During early Mughals, Bengal including Patna was important centre of the silk industry besides Ahmedabad

7 T.J., II, p. 147.

8 Ain, II, p. 120.

9 Ibid., p. 122.

10 Ibid., p. 119.

11 Ibid., p. 122.

and Kashmir which exported large quantities of silk to other centres. In Kashmir the mulberry leaves were reserved for the silk worm. The eggs were brought from Gilgit and Little Tibet.[12]

The cultivation of crops yielding dye-stuffs greatly helped in the progress of the textile industry. Apart from the cultivation of indigo, and al, several other trees such as lac, tun, catechu, bet, were also grown in the various parts of the Empire[13] from which colouring material for the dyes were obtained. Among the chief producers of Indigo - the most important were the Subas of Lahore[14] and Multan.[15] It was also grown in the plain regions of Punjab and after the death of Akbar became an important article of commerce.

Sugarcane, poppy and oilseeds too were considered amongst the valuable crops, though we have no means at our disposal to identify the land under these crops. Sugarcane was grown in Subas of Lahore[16] and Multan[17] and was introduced in the Kabul region of Babar. Poppy was grown in Subas of Lahore[18] and Multan[19] and in Sehwan of the Thatta

12 Ain, II, p. 353.

13 H.K. Naqvi, Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals, Simla, 1972, p. 40.

14 Ain, II, p. 120.

15 Ibid., p. 122.

16 Ibid., p. 119.

17 Ibid., p. 122.

18 Ibid., p. 119.

19 Ibid., p. 121.

region. Saffron, used for colouring cloth and inflowing dishes, was only produced in Kashmir.[20] It was in great demand throughout the countries.

Horticulture: Babar loved gardens and fruit and considered them as some of the greatest gifts of the creator. This led him to pay much attention to them. Abul Fazl, refers to the development of horticulture in these words: "The horticulturists of Iran and Turan, have, therefore, settled here, and the cultivation of trees is in a flourishing state. Melons and grapes have become very plentiful and excellent; and water melons, peaches, almonds, pistachios, pomagranates etc. are everywhere to be found".[21]

North-west India was extremely rich in horticulture. After the conquest of Kabul, Qandahar and Kashmir, loads of fruit were imported, throughout the whole year and the stores of the dealers remained full and the bazars well supplied.[22] Infact, the whole mountainous North-West India was very rich in different kind of fruit. Kabul and Kashmir regions were specially supplying fruit in large quantities to other regions. Babar-Nama, Ain and Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri are full of references to fruit of Kabul, Ghazni, Kashmir and the Swad region.

Mineral Resources: A mention should be made here of the mineral resources of the Empire since they were an important

20 Ain, II, p. 358; T.J., II, pp. 177-78.

21 Ain, I, p. 68.

22 Ibid.

part of long distance trade. Gold and silver, the principal medium of currency were not mined at all in the region.[23] The first reference to the development of minerals during the period under study is found in the works of Abul Fazl. There was no gold-mine in North-West India but gold was collected from the sand of various rivers of the Indus system in the mountainous regions.[24] The quantity of the gold, obtained through the tedious process of taking out gold particles from sand by washing it,[25] was, however, not significant. Silver was also being obtained through the same process.[26] There are references to the silver mines of Tuman, Ghorband,[27] Kabul and also of the abandoned mines of Panjsher.

Apart from gold and silver, iron was obtained from the mines of Bangash, Swad and Shah Masud range, north of Qandahar.[28] Copper was mined in Suba of Lahore.[29] Salt was found in Sindh Sagar Doab of Lahore[30] and also on the western side of India, close to Bangash.[31] Salt was also obtained by evoporation from sea water and from the Sambhar lake.

23 H.K. Naqvi, p. 52.

24 I. Habib, Atlas, Sheet 3B.

25 Ain, II, p. 317.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid., p. 413.

28 I. Habib, Atlas, Sheet 1.

29 Ain, II, p. 317.

30 Ibid., p. 319.

31 I. Habib, Atlas, Sheet

Woollens: The major part of Indian sub-continent has a tropical climate, where woollens are not much needed. But most of North-West India being hilly and cold required wool for different uses. Thus rearing of sheep and hairy goats was common in Kashmir. In Kabul, large meadows called aulang[32] were set aside as grazing patures for the sheep. During the reign of Akbar, Kabul was famous as a wool producing region and so was Kashmir. Different varieties of woollens of Kashmir are referred to in various sources as parm-narm,[33] tarmah,[34] darmah,[35] pashmina,[36] pattu[37] and saqarlat.[38] Shawl weaving was in all likelihood common in Kashmir even before Akbar's conquest. Akbar, greatly encouraged the shawl weaving industry of Kashmir.[39] He tried to stimulate the growth of a market for these in Hindustan. Jahangir, however, appreciated the woollens of Tibet. According to him "with the exception of shawls, they make other woollen materials better in Tibet, though they bring the wool for the shawls from Tibet they do not make them

32 BN, pp. 221-22.

33 Ain, I, p. 96; T.J., II, p. 147.

34 T.J., II, p. 147.

35 Ain, II, p. 356; T.J., II, p. 148.

36 Naqvi, op.cit., p. 50.

37 T.J., II, pp. 148.

38 Ain, II, p. 356.

39 Ain, I, p. 98.

there. The wool for shawls comes from a goat which is peculiar to Tibet."[40]

Manufacturing Industries: Assessment of India, as a manufacturing nation in the past, differs widely. According to one view, the industrial sector in pre-colonial days was well developed in India. An unending flow of precious metals poured into the country from all over the civilized world in payment for her fine manufactures. "Western observers from Pliny to Bernier noted with disapproval the region's economic role as the sink for the world's precious metals."[41] Export trade was vigorous while imports were negligible. India was a leading manufacturing nation or at least, at par with pre-industrial Europe. It lost this relative advantage only after Europe achieved a revolution in technology.

This image of high economic achievement has been questioned by others. Gibbon's description of the staples of oriental trade as being 'splendid and trivial' has been held to be true of India's exports as well.[42] Moreover, given the gransport technology of the period, the volume of exports, it is pointed out, was bound to be negligible in relation to overall magnitude of economic activity. According to this view, the level of technology of that period in general was rather primitive and almost totally

40 T.J., II, p. 148.

41 T. Raychaudhuri & I. Habib, p. 261.

42 Ibid.

stagnant. Hence, by inference, productivity was low and equally stagnant. Thus, there was a low level of performance for the economy as a whole and manufactures in particular. So, it was not comparable with the buoyant and technologically advanced economy of Europe in the age of Renaissaince and Reformation.

The evidence necessary for a definitive assessment of such contending views is lacking. However, it is certain that the second point of view is too critical of the economic achievement of India during the medieval period. Traders and travellers from Europe, who visited India during the period of the Great Mughals, were generally much impressed by the richness and grandeur of the King and nobility and by the prosperity of certain regions and the major towns of the country. The masses were of course very poor, but, in that case in the 17th century, a quarter of the population of England was permanently in a state of poverty and under-employment, if not of total unemployment'.[43]

India was a pre-eminent exporter of manufactured goods, though her technology was remarkably backward in comparison with other advanced civilizations of the period, especially China and Western Europe.[44] The world famous textiles of India were produced without the aid of multi spindle wheels used in China from at least the early 14th

43 C. Wilson, England's Apprenticeship, 1603-1763, p. 231.

44 T. Raychaudhuri & I. Habib, p. 291.

century. There was also nothing in India to compare with the Italian silk industry which had water-powered throwing mills with 200 spindles. The massive Mughal movements were constructed without the use of even such elementary aids to human labour as the wheel-barrow. The uses of coal and cast-iron technology were not known to the Indians. They were also unfamiliar with the techniques of deep mining. Chemical industry was, at best, primitive. In fact, the extreme simplicity of instruments and a general indifference to labour-saving devices were perhaps the most characteristic features of India's manufacturing techniques.

In certain lines of production, a measure of sophistication had been achieved despite the dominant non-mechanical bias and the basic simplicity of Indian technology.[45] The technology in India's most developed manufacturing sector, textiles, was no doubt surprisingly simple. Yet, expectedly, in some techniques such as the application of dye resists to confine colours to patterns, it was superior to its European counterpart.[46] European observers never ceased to marvel at the matchless ingenuity of the Indian artists, who, though destitute of tools, could out-do all the ingenuity of Europe. Manufacturing of jewellery, objects made of steel, muskets, fowling pieces and shipping were also well developed.

There are references to various well developed manufacturing industries of the country, few of which were

45 Ibid., p. 292.

46 Ibid., p. 293.

located in the North-West India. The most important of the manufacturing industries were the textile industries. Among the textiles, the cotton industry was the most developed. Cotton textiles were produced in almost all parts of the country both for local consumption and distant markets. A bewildering variety of cotton fabrics are mentioned in the contemporary sources and 150 names occur in the first ten years of the English factory records. The export varieties came mainly from four regions, one of them, being the Indus Plain, i.e., Punjab and Sind.[47]

The chief cause for the localisation of silk industry was the ancestral skill of the craftmen. Ain makes reference to the silken carpets and brocades, being extensively encouraged by state patronage. Gujarat remained the main area producing finished silk before the seventeenth century. A small quantity was also produced in Kashmir and Bengal. Few cities like Agra, Lahore, Fatehpur, Patna and Thatta were mentioned by Manucci and Manrique as centres of silk production.[48] There was an element of specialization in silk producing centres. Gujarat was famous for Kamkhabs and silk cloth, Orissa for silk, Lahore for silk thread and Thatta for Jamawars in cotton and silk.

The woollen industry of Kabul and Kashmir has already been mentioned while discussing woollen products. The chief centres of this industry were Kashmir, Kabul, Agra,

47 Ibid., p. 270.

48 Ibid., p. 272.

Lahore, Patna and Rajputana.

The urban industries of India, consisting primarily of handicrafts producing luxury articles for the aristocracy, were mainly centred near the capital towns. These were the best organised industries of the period. The value of their products lay in the artisanal skill rather than in the cost of raw material used. Ain refers to the manufacture of excellent swords, daggers, Jamdhars and Khapwah, bows and arrows in Khandesh. Lahore was famous for chikan, Sialkot (Koh-i-Jud) for dishes and candle-stands, Kashmir for wood work and ivory work and Brampur (Burhanpur) for arms.

Apart from these, there were various other industries located in various parts of North-West India. Metal industries were located in Lahore and Sialkot. The best varieties of paper came from Kashmir owing its origin to the fostering care of the imperial patronage. There were also other cottage industries located in various parts of North-West India.

Trade and Commerce: Most of the population, during the period under study was living in villages and the bulk of their needs for goods and services was satisfied through production for use. Hence, a net work of reciprocal obligations and exchanges accounted for a relatively small proportion of economic activity. But no region seems to be economically self-sufficient as exchange of goods are found at virtually every level and sphere of economic life.

The dominance of subsistence oriented production was modified by surpluses and deficits necessitating multi-tiered and multi-faceted commercial activity.

Our concern in this thesis, though is with the inter-regional trade, yet it will not be out of place to mention some of the salient features of the intra-local and inter-local trade of the period. The inter-local trade, both the country to town and inter-town flow of commodities, was essentially a short-distance version of the inter-regional trade. Infact, intra-local and inter-local trade, in many ways, influenced the inter-regional trade. Important towns of various regions had close commercial ties with the villages and small towns of their hinterland and were also closely linked with the major towns of the other regions.

The village markets or the periodic hats were an important feature of the intra-local trade of the period. Most of the major towns had several markets or bazars and their intra-local trade was necessarily more complex and varied. The bulk of the urban commerce was inter-local rather than intra-local for the commodities on sale in the urban markets were mostly the products of areas near or far. The villages around towns or parganahs were not only administratively dependent on the latter, but also had close economic ties with them. The collection of revenue in cash generated a pressure to sell. The towns providing the necessary demand were in their turn, dependent on the villages for the supply of not only primary products but

most of the manufactured goods they consumed. The urban markets not only catered for the needs of local consumers, wholesalers and retaillers but also acted as emporia and entepots whence dealers from other places secured their supplies.

A striking feature of the inter-local trade was the extreme responsiveness of food supply to market demand. The food supply, in all major urban centres was abundant, a large part of which necessarily came from outside. Different types of producers goods featured prominently in the inter-local exchange of commodities.

The inter-regional trade, during the period under study was not, as generally assumed, predominantly an exchange of highly priced luxury products. The trade in food-stuff and in a wide range of textile products, some of which were certainly not luxury items, were, despite high transport costs, the most important components of inter-regional trade of the period. The trade in food-grains indicates the existence of surplus and deficit regions and contradicts theories which postulate a uniform pattern of self-sufficiency for the entire sub-continent. Whether the inter-regional flow of foodgrains was meant for the rural consumers is not known.

The volume of trade in foodstuffs cannot be assessed in the absence of appropriate data, however a few sources provide some indication of its magnitude. Manrique mentions that over a hundred vessels were, "yearly loaded up

in the ports of Bengal with only rice, sugar fats, oil, wax" etc. The trade of food-stuff was mainly done by the Banjaras over land on pack oxen. They had in their larger camps 12,000 to 20,000 bullocks capable of carrying 1,600 to 2,700 tons. Besides catering to the need of the regular annual movement of goods, they used to supply the imperial army during the Campaigns.

The trade of textile was also quite common. It was noted by the European traders that purchases were quite insignificant to the total volume of trade in textiles. The bulk of textiles were being bought up by Indian and other Asian merchants for other regions of India. Different varieties of cotton textile were being produced in various regions and evidence clearly indicates that none of these was exclusively meant for local consumption or the foreign market.

It is possible that the trade in cotton textile was confined mainly to luxury and comfort goods. But inter-regional exchange of certain intermediate goods and raw material suggests a more basic pattern of interdependence. The silk industry of Gujarat, for instance, was entirely dependent on the import of raw silk from Bengal. According to Roe, Bengal silk was available more cheaply at Agra than in Bengal.[49] If true, it would perhaps be due to the fact that the Bengal trade was controlled by the traders from north India, so that any procurement of silk against

49 Ibid., p. 332.

this stiff competition was rendered difficult.[50] From Agra 20,000-30,000 bundles were sent every year to Persia and Turkey.[51] The dye-stuff, indigo and chay roots, were produced only in certain regions, but were essential for the textile industry every where.

Apart from the trade of mineral products, a variety of miscellaneous items entered into the inter-regional trade of the period. Some of the important trade items were spices, opium, tobacco etc. Prominent in the luxury trade of the period were the products of Kashmir like, shawls, palanquins, bedsteads, trunks, boxes and saffron.

Unfortunately, no evidence is yet available on the volume of the inter-regional trade and commerce at any point of time. Only some idea of the magnitude of the trade can be obtained from individual items such as, quantity of salt imported into Bengal, the export of raw silk from Kasimbazar to Gujarat or the number of pack oxen used by the Banjaras to transport grain. There was in all probability, an upward trend in the volume of trade during the period of Akbar and Jahangir, although there is no direct reference to prove it. The volume of trade must have increased due to the increase in population[52] and political stability in

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 The likely increase in population would suggest an increased demand of foodgrain and other foodstuffs unless the increase was concentrated in the food exporting areas.

the country[53] and also due to the efforts made by Sher Shah, Akbar and Jahangir to make trading safe and comfortable.

3.1.2 Political Bases

Political factors play an important role in structuring the interaction pattern between peoples and regions. Political factors have also determined the temporal ambitions and the plans of conquest of Kings. Socio-economic interaction between regions is also contingent upon political conditions which should be amenable. If political circumstances do not warrant it trade may not exist even among surplus regions. Political stability and cordiality in political relations hence are a pre-requisite for the development of inter-regional linkages.

In this section, an attempt has been made to understand the significant political developments of the period under study. The period of early Mughals was one of the most eventful and crucial periods in the annals of Indian history. During this period, perhaps one of the strongest and most stable empire was established in India. The alien Mughals under Akbar and Jahangir became Indian in character. The local nobles and rulers, particularly the Rajputs, were inducted in administration and policy making and were given the highest possible status. In the following pages we

53 With the establishment and consolidation of the Mughal Empire, there was significant economic development followed by trade of various commodities. There are references to prove that various luxury items were procured by Kings and nobles from various countries.

attempt to highlight those political events which directly or indirectly influenced the inter-regional linkages in North-West India.

Babar's Conquests of Kabul and Qandahar: Babar succeeded his father, Umar Sheikh, to the throne of a small state, Farghana in June 1495 at the young age of 12 years.[54] A very turbulent period followed for him. He had to conquer the city of Samarqand twice from his uncle only to loose it soon after. The second time the Uzbek chief, Shaibani Khan, was called in by his uncle to help oust Babar. Shaibani defeated Babar and conquered not only Samarqand but also the rest of the Timurid Kingdoms in the area. This forced Babar to move towards Kabul, which he conquered in October 1504.[55] Babar then, for 14 years tried to regain his homeland from the Uzbeks. He tried to enlist the help of his uncle, the ruler of Herat, in the enterprise without any success. Ultimately Herat too was conquered by Shaibani Khan, but this resulted in a direct conflict between the Uzbecks and the Safarids as the latter also laid claims to the Herat region, known at that time as Khurasan.

In the famous battle at Merv, in 1510, Shah Ismail of Iran defeated and killed Shaibani Khan. Babar once again, this time with the help of Iranian forces, recaptured Samarqand but was later treated by them as the governor of

54 BN, p. 1n.

55 Ibid., p. 199.

an Iranian province rather than as an independent prince. He was subsequently ousted once again from Samarqand and had to return to Kabul. Ultimately, Shah Ismail himself was defeated in a battle of Ottoman Sultan, thus leaving the Uzbecks as the masters of Trans-Oxiana. These political developments in Central and West Asia forced Babar to look towards India.

Factors Leading to Babar's Conquest of Hindustan: Babar was interested in the conquest of Hindustan from the time of his occupance of power in Kabul in 1504, as he mentions, "Ever since we came into Kabul it had been in my mind to move on Hindustan".[56] He started for Hindustan for the first time in 1505 but abandoned the campaign, without crossing the Indus. He crossed the river for the first time during his third campaign to Hindustan in 1519. Babar conquered Bhira-Khushab temporarily, on which he felt he had a legitimate right as they were conquered by Timur and remained in possession of his successors till 1504.[57] Next year Babar again conquered Bhira and pushed on as far as Sialkot and Sayyidpur (Aminabad). He might have pushed further on, but the news of the raid of Shah Beg Arghun of Qandahar compelled him to retrace his steps. Tripathi rightly notes that the early expeditions of Babar were of a reconnoitering character. He must have found out that

56 BN, p. 377.

57 According to Babar "Timur Beg had gone into Hindustan; viz. Bhira, Khush-ab, Chinab and Chiniut, had been held by his descandents and the dependents and adherants of those descendents", BN, p. 382.

the road to the Punjab was clear after the Indus was crossed, that the Afghans were either incapable of resistance, or for some reason, were anxious to avoid a serious clash with him, and that Qandahar must be conquered before any extensive operation in India could be undertaken.[58]

There were some economic compulsions, which forced Babar to attack Bhira and other Parganas of Punjab and then to conquer Hindustan. Babar very often mentions the pressing needs of money and provision for the army. Before attacking Bhira in 1519 he again explicitly mentions that "Nothing to count had fallen into the soldiers' hands during the three or four months we had been leading this army. Now that Bhira, the border land of Hindustan, was so near, I thought something might fall into our men's hands if, riding light, we went suddenly into it."[59]

It is quite obvious, that Babar who was ruling over hilly regions, with a meagre surplus and income was unable to feed a large army which he had to keep due to the pressing danger of Uzbecks and the Shah of Iran. Abul Fazl also realised this need of Babar as he mentions that "He ruled over Badakhshan, Qandahar and Kabul which did not yield sufficient income for the requirements of the army. In fact, in some of the border territories the expense of controlling the armies and administration was greater than the income." With the meagre resources of the regions

58 R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, Allahabad, 1963, pp. 25-6.

59 BN, p. 378.

which were in Bahar's possession, it was not possible to provide well for his nobles and Kinsmen.

Another factor which prompted Babar to move towards India was the fact that though he was able to consolidate his power in Kabul and Qandahar considerably, he was always under the constant threat of attack from the Uzbecks and considered India to be a good place of refuge and a suitable base for operations against the Uzbeks. Moreover, the political situation in Hindustan was suitable for Babar's entry. Ibrahim Lodi had succeeded Sikandar Lodi in 1517 and had tried to establish a large centralised empire which alarmed the Rajputs and Afghan chiefs. Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab, was almost an independent ruler and wanted to strengthen his position by annexing the frontier tracts of Bhira etc. This created some tension between Babar and Daulat Khan. However, the policy of Daulat Khan was to avoid a conflict both with Babar and Ibrahim Lodi. Ibrahim Lodi was also not too keen on precipitating a conflict with Daulat Khan as his attention was for the moment rivetted on consolidating his power and keeping his energies reserved. It was around 1524 that Babar was invited by Daulat Khan Lodi and Alam Khan Lodi to invade India. Babar conquered India by defeating Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat in April 1526, and then defeating Rana Sanga at Khanwa in 1527. This was a long step towards the establishment of an Indian empire.

The influence of Babar on the history of India was

enormous. He not only changed the entire political situation of northern India, but also linked India once again directly with central and west Asia.[60] For the first time since the downfall of the Kushans, Kabul and Qandahar became integral parts of India. Throughout the early Turkish period the frontiers of India remained very vulnerable, for the conqueror of Kabul was always tempted to cross the Indus and at least threaten the province of the Punjab. Kabul and Qandahar had always acted as staging places for an invasion of India. Dominating them, Babar and his successors were able to give to India security from external invasions for almost 200 years. Economically also, the control of these two regions strengthened India's foreign trade since these two towns were the starting points for caravans meant for China and the Mediterranean sea ports.

Humayun: Humayun who succeeded Babar in 1530, was left to take care of a vast empire which extended from the river Amu to Bihar. Kunduz, Badakhshan, Kabul, Ghazni and Qandahar were his western possessions, while the Indo-Gangetic plains upto Bihar, formed parts of his empire. Biyana, Ranthambore, Gwalior, Alwar and Chanderi formed the irregular boundary-line between the empire and the Kingdoms of Rajputana and Malwa. He had also inherited many of Babar's problems. The administration had not yet

60 R.P. Tripathi, op.cit., p. 60.

been consolidated and the financial condition was unsound. The Afghans were still strong and hoping to expel the Mughals from India. Moreover, the old Turko-Moghol custom of partitioning the empire among all the brothers had to be followed.[61] Babar, however was against it and had advised Humayun not to partition the infant Mughal empire but to treat his brothers with generosity. Partition of the empire, he thought, would be dangerous and disastrous.

Theoritically Humayun was the successor of Babar to the Imperial throne and enjoyed undivided sovereignty. However, the empire was already divided up. Kamran had already got Kabul and Badkhshan; Askari, who was fifteen, received the province of Sambhal; and, Alwar fell to the share of Hindal, a boy of thirteen.[62] With this arrangement, however, Kamran was not satisfied as he found that the regions given to him had very limited resources as compared to the Indo-Gangetic plains, possessed by Humayun. Kamran marched on Lahore and Multan and occupied them. Humayun was not interested in a civil war, as he was busy elsewhere and had little option but to agree. Kamran accepted the suzerainty of Humayun and promised to help him. In a way, this arrangement suited Humayun, at least for the time being, because after granting Lahore and Multan to Kamran, he was free to devote his attention to the eastern parts of his empire without having to bother

61 Ibid., p. 67.

62 Ibid., p. 68.

about his western frontiers.

Humayun was faced with problems from two fronts; on the east the power of Afghans was growing rapidly. Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Gujarat had consolidated his position by conquering Malwa and invading Chittor again and again. Humayun, destroyed for ever the threat posed to the Mughals by Bahadur Shah. But during his absence from Agra for two years (February 1535 to February 1537), Sher Khan, the Afghan noble, had further strengthened his position and had become master of Bihar. He also compelled the Bengal King to pay an indemnity of 1,300,000 dinars (gold coins). Humayun defeated Afghan at the fort of Chunar but in the mean time Sher Khan captured fort of Rohtasgarh and Gaur, the capital of Bengal. After these conquest, Sher Khan made an offer to Hunayun that he would surrender Bihar if he was allowed to retain Bengal. But obviously Humayun was not prepared to leave Bengal as it was the land of gold; rich in manufactures, and a centre of foreign trade. Humayun had, thus, to undertake the campaign, which was purposeless and was a prelude to the disaster which overtook his army at Chausa, almost a year later (March 1539).

Humayun's loss of Empire: After the defeat of Chausa, only the united force of Timurid princes and the nobles could have saved the Mughals. But unfortunately due to some misunderstanding and lack of proper judgement the Mughal forces could not unite and Humayun lost bitterly contested battle against Sher Khan at Kanauj in May 1540.

After this war Humayun became a prince without a Kingdom. Kabul and Qandahar remained with Kamran. Humayun wandered for two and a half years in Sind and its neighbouring regions, preparing various schemes to regain his kingdom. But neither, Maldeo, the powerful ruler of Marwar, nor the rulers of Sind were prepared to help him in this enterprise. Worst of all, his own brothers, due to different reasons, turned against him, and tried to have him arrested.

Humayun left Sind for Qandahar via Siwi, but, at Mashtang he was informed that Askari, under Kamran's instructions, was coming to arrest him and was not far from the place. Leaving his belongings and baggage and the infant son, Akbar, to the care of reliable men, Humayun set off his wife and twenty-two loyal followers for Persia by way of Ghazni.[63]

According to the instruction of the Shah, Humayun was received by the Governor of Seistan and was escorted to the presence of Tahmasp who was at Surliq, the summer capital of Persia (July 1544). Humayun felt humiliated in his heart, but had to keep up appearances.[64] However, with the help of 13,000 horses sent by the Shah under the nominal command of Prince Murad,[65] Humayun was able to conquer Qandahar (September 1545). He subsequently conquered Kabul from Kamran (November 1545).

63 Ibid., p. 106.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid., p. 160.

Sher Shah's Afghan Empire: After defeating Humayun, Sher Shah ascended the throne of Delhi in 1540 and ruled over the mightiest empire which had come into existence in north India since the time of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. His empire extended from Bengal in the east to the Indus on the west. In the south-west he conquered Malwa and almost the entire Rajasthan.

Sher Shah paid great attention to the development and growth of trade and commerce and improvement of communications in his kingdom. He restored the old imperial road, now known as the Great Trunk Road, from the river Indus (western boundary of the empire) to Sonargaon in Bengal (near the eastern most corner of the empire). During his reign, a road was also built from Agra to Jodhpur and Chittor, evidently linking up with the road to the Gujarat sea ports. He built a third road of importance from Lahore to Multan. Multan was at that time the staging point for caravans going to west and Central Asia. These roads were useful both for commerce and military purposes. Along these roads were sunk wells for the comfort of travellers at a convenient interval of four miles. In these places the state provided the travellers with hot or cold water; beds; food, cooked or uncooked and grain and hay for horses and cattle. Sher Shah is credited with having repaired or constructed about 1,700 caravan-Sarais. They were largely for the convenience of the royal post.[66]

66 Ibid., p. 139.

Direct steps were also taken to tone up commerce. The merchants and shopkeepers were ordered to maintain uniformity of weights, prices and quality of articles. The state officials were forbidden to buy things at a price lower than that prevailing in the market. Sher Shah also opened free trade between the provinces of his empire. He charged the transit duties only at two places in the empire, i.e., at the place for entrance, which was Sikrigali pass in the east and Rohtasgarh in the west; and, at the place where commodities were sold.

The noble sentiments of patriotism with which Sher Shah had been able to inspire and unite the Afghan nobles dissipated during the reign of Islam Shah. Though there was no loss of territories or strength of empire, but after Sher Shah's death in October 1553, due to the absence of a comanding personality, the pent-up feeling and ambitious of the Afghan nobles were let loose[67] and the whole empire was in no time broken into pieces.

Humayun after setting the affairs of Kabul and considerating the army reached the banks of Indus on the last day of 1554. After capturing Lahore and defeating the Afghans at Sirhind, the gates of Delhi once again opened for Humayun on July 20, 1555. He entered the fort of Salimgarh, which had been built around the Din Panah of Humayun.[68]

67 Ibid., p. 157.

68 Ibid., p. 168.

Akbar: Humayun died a few months after his conquest of Delhi. Akbar, who was then only thirteen years and four months old was crowned at Kalanaur in February 1556.[69] The political climate of his empire at that time was very uncertain. The Afghans who were still strong beyond Agra, were regrouping their forces under the leadership of Hem Raj or Hemu for a final show down. Sikandar Sur, the defeated Afghan ruler, was loitering in the Sivalik hills. Kabul had been attacked and besieged by Sulaiman Mirza. However, Bairam Khan, the tutor of the Prince and loyal and favourite officer of Humayun, rose to the occasion. He became the Vakil of the kingdom, with a title of Khan-i-khanan, and rallied the Mughal forces.[70]

The threat from the side of Hem Raj, the most powerful commander of the Afghan forces, was considered the most serious. He marched through Gwalior and took possession of Agra[71] and also captured Delhi in October 1556.[72] Akbar who was in Punjab with Bairam Khan at that time marched towards Delhi and fourht a decisive war against Afghans at Panipat on 5th November 1556.[73] Hem Raj was defeated.[74]

69 Ibid., p. 172.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid., p. 173.

72 Ibid., p. 174.

73 Ibid., p. 175.

74 Ibid., p. 176.

His defeat sealed the fate of Adil Shah.[75] Shortly after the occupation of Delhi and Agra, Bairam Khan marched along with Akbar to deal with Sikandar, who fortified himself in Mankot. The fort was siezed and for six months Sikandar defied the besiegers.[76] However, when the news of the defeat of the two big Afghan generals and of the death of Adil Shah reached him he lost all hopes of relief and sued for peace. Sikandar was allowed to go to Bihar (May, 1557) where he died after a few years.[77]

The imperial affairs at Kabul also took a favourable turn. After besieging Kabul in vain for several months, Sulaiman Mirza thought it prudent to come to settlement with Munim Khan because the Uzbeks were moving in Central Asia and winter was approaching.[78] Qandahar was surrendered to the Persians by Shah Muhammad, the governor of the place, who was obliged to take that course owing to the rebellion of Bahadur Khan, brother of Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman.[79]

During the four years of Bairam Khan's regime not only the most formidable dangers were overcome but the Mughal armies showed a very satisfactory progress. From Kabul to Jaunpur and from the northern Punjab hills to

75 Ibid., p. 177.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid., p. 178.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

Ajmer, the sovereignty of Akbar was recognized. The Ghakkars were also persuaded to accept the suzereignty of the Mughal Emperor.

While outwardly Bairam Khan's power and prestige were supreme, numerous forces were active in undermining his influence, which was eventually destroyed by 1560.[80] Bairam Khan who became arrogant was unable to realise that Akbar was growing up and was interested in taking the helm of the empire in his own hands. On the pretext of going on a hunting expedition, the Emperor fled away from Agra (March 19th, 1560) to Delhi with some of his most confidential men.[81] From Delhi, Akbar issued farmans suspending Bairam Khan. Those who were unhappy with Bairam Khan rallied at Delhi.[82] Bairam Khan rebelled halfheartedly but later on submitted to the king who received him cordially.[83]

Akbar had freed himself from the control of Bairam Khan not to fall under the influence of any other power. The following sixteen years were far from peaceful and Akbar faced problems practically from every corner of the empire. However, he managed to conquer all those territories, which traditionally were parts of Hindustan. Mughal armies were able to conquer the following regions; Malwa in

80 Ibid., p. 179.

81 Ibid., p. 180.

82 Ibid., p. 181.

83 Ibid., p. 182.

1561;[84] Merta in 1562;[85] Gondwana in 1564;[86] Chittor in 1568;[87] Ranthambhor in 1568;[88] Kalingar in 1569;[89] Gujarat in 1573;[90] and Bihar and Bengal between 1574-76.[91] The Mughal army also won the famous battle of Haldighati against Rana Pratap in 1576.[92] The Rana retired into the most interior parts of the hills.[93] The defeat at Haldighat did not weaken Rana Pratap's resolve to fight on for independence. However, the cause for which he stood had already been lost; most of the Rajput states had accepted the suzerainty of the Mughals. Akbar succeeded in cementing his alliance with the Rajput rulers by the policy of inducting them in the Mughal service and treating them at par with the Mughal grandees; by according broad religious toleration to his subjects and by his courteous behaviour to his former opponents.

In the mean while, Akbar faced some serious problems

84 Ibid., p. 184.

85 Ibid., p. 186.

86 Ibid., p. 192.

87 Ibid., p. 205.

88 Ibid., p. 206.

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid., p. 212.

91 Ibid., pp. 215-18.

92 Ibid., p. 225.

93 Ibid., p. 226.

in Punjab. Mirza Hakim, brother of Akbar, who was driven out of Kabul by an invasion of Sulaiman Mirza of Badakhshan, came to India to seek Akbar's help. Akbar gave orders to the Punjab officers to do their best to help the Mirza in his distress. Meanwhile the Mirza changed his mind. Encouraged by the Uzbek rebellion and instigated by his maternal uncle Faridun, Mirza Hakim invaded the Punjab. Plundering Bhera on his way, he came to besiege Lahore. Akbar marched from Agra to repel his brother on November 17, 1566.[94] He hardly reached the Sutlej when he got the news that Mirza had raised the seige of Lahore and had returned to Kabul. Akbar, however, sent an army upto Indus to hound the Mirza out. He had no intention of taking an offensive against Kabul.[95]

After many years, in 1580, Akbar faced, perhaps the most serious threat to his empire from Mirza Hakim. This time, political discontent among the nobles was at its peak due to certain socio-religious and economic factors. The new system of administration introduced by Akbar, implied the tightening of the administrative machinery, greater control over the nobles and more concern for the interest of common people. This system was, therefore, not to the liking of many nobles. The most serious rebellion during this period was in Bengal and Bihar which had a long tradi-

94 Ibid., p. 196.

95 Ibid.

tion of forming separate kingdoms. The discontent was fanned by some religious men who were unhappy at Akbar's liberal views. Due to the mishandling of the situation by local officials, Bengal and almost the whole of Bihar passed into the hands of the rebels who proclaimed Mirza Hakim as their ruler.[96] The rebels, even got a religious divine to issue a fatwa, calling in the faithful to take the bield against Akbar.

Akbar was fortunate in that Mirza Hakim's project of invading India was postponed owing to civil war in Badakhshan.[97] When the Kabul army marched upon India the political situation had somewhat eased, though the rebellion in the east was yet far from being brought under control.[98] It was in December 1580 that the advance of the Kabul troops crossed the Indus and Mirza Hakim advanced on Lahore with 15,000 horses but could not take the city due to the strong defence of Raja Man Singh and Bhagwan Das. His disappointment was great when he found that not a single officer joined him against Akbar.[99]

Akbar was quite prepared to meet an invasion and had collected an army of 50,000 cavalry and 500 elephants besides numerous infantry and artillery.[100] He left the

96 Ibid., p. 263.

97 Ibid., p. 266.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid., p. 267.

100 Ibid.

capital on 6th February 1581, with probably the largest army that he had ever led in his life. Hakim came to know of the strength of Akbar's army, lost his nerve, hurriedly decamped and fled from India.[101] Akbar received the delightful news of the retreat of Mirza Hakim from Lahore when he was near Sirhind.[102]

Conquest of Kabul: Akbar, however, decided to proceed to the frontier to organise the defences there and to lay the foundation of a strong fort at Attock to act as a bulwork against an invasion from Kabul.[103] Man Singh was ordered to cross the Indus and proceed to Peshawar as Hakim did not reply to Akbar's message suggesting to settle terms. Ultimately, Akbar, against the advise of all the nobles, crossed the Indus.[104] His example had a salutary effect on the nobles, who eventually decided to follow him. In the meanwhile, prince Murad and Man Singh defeated Mirza Hakim at Khurd-Kabul.[105] Nevertheless Akbar pushed on and reached Kabul on August 10, 1581. This was the first time in the history of India when one of her own rulers made entry into Kabul.[106] Mirza Hakim loudly protested his loyalty and sought for forgiveness but refused to appear personally

101 Ibid., p. 269.

102 Ibid., p. 268.

103 Ibid., p. 269.

104 Ibid., p. 270.

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid., pp. 270-71.

before Akbar. The Emperor left the charge of Kabul to his sister Bakhtunnissa Begam.[107] After the return of Akbar from Kabul, Hakim came back to Kabul but ruled in the name of his sister. Mirza Hakim died on July 30, 1585, leaving behind two young princes and a disturbed Kabul.[108] Uzbek power under the leadership of Abdullah Khan had increased significantly and they had conquered Badakhshan in 1584.[109]

On August 24, 1885, Akbar left Fatehpur for the north-west. Many Mughal officers advised the Emperor not to go beyond Rohtas but he pushed on as he was obviously very anxious to maintain the integrity of the empire by closing every possible route to India.[110] On December 20, 1585, expeditions were sent to conquer Kashmir, Swad and Bajaur.[111] An expedition was also sent to Baluchistan.[112] The full control of the Khaibar pass and the submission of Pathan tribes inhabiting the country along the Kabul river were the first requisites for a comprehensive and systematic opposition to the Uzbeks. The debacle of Swat region has already been discussed, when thousands of Mughal soldiers and important nobles, including Raja Birbal were killed. Subsequently, expeditions were sent again and again to crush the power of the Pathan tribes, with some success -

107 Ibid., p. 271.

108 Ibid., p. 294.

109 Ibid.

110 Ibid.

111 AN, III, p. 714.

112 Ibid., p. 716.

at least Khaibar pass route became safe for the travellers.

Conquest of Kashmir: Humayun, after his defeat by Sher Khan, was invited to conquer Kashmir but he could not accept the proposal.[113] However, Mirza Haidar Doghlat, the cousin of Babar welcomed the proposal and conquered Kashmir in 1540-41.[114] The death of Mirza Haidar in 1557 once again gave rise to furious struggle between different factors.[115] During Akbar's period the relations of the king with Husain Shah and his brother and successor Ali Shah were not unsatisfactory. Ali Shah had gone to the extent of proclaiming Akbar sovereign of Kashmir in public prayers.[116] But after the death of Ali Shah, in 1578-79, when his son Yusuf succeeded him, a civil war broke out. Yusuf sought help and protection from the Emperor. In 1580 Akbar dispatched Man Singh for his assistance. But when the Kashmiris sued for peace and requested him to come alone, Yusuf without informing the Mughal officers, slipped off and seated himself on the throne.[117]

In 1585, when Akbar was marching towards the frontier, he sent an order to Yusuf either to come in person or send back his son, Yaqub who had fled from the imperial camp. Yusuf was probably willing to come but his nobles would not

113 R.P. Tripathi, op.cit., p. 298.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid., p. 299.

116 Ibid.

117 Ibid.

allow it, so the attempt became futile.[118] Due to uncertain conditions prevailing in the north-west at that time, Akbar was not interested in leaving Kashmir in a state of doubtful loyalty.[119]

In December 1585, Akbar deputed Shahrukh and Bhagwan Das to lead an invasion into Kashmir by way of Pakhli route (Jhelum Gorge). At Buliyan pass, a well contested battle was fought, but with no decisive result. Yusuf himself was not interested in fighting against the Mughal army but he could not convince his nobles. At last he secretly fled from his camp and came over to Bhagwan Das.[120] The Kashmiris placed Yaqub on the thrown and came out to fight the Mughal army. Although they defeated Yaqub's forces but they could not afford to stay there any longer as famine and cold grew so threatening that it was difficult to get a meal for an asharfi.[121] This forced the Mughal commander to patch up with Yaqub and come to some treaty. This step was thought unreasonable from the Mughal point of view.

Akbar received this news at the time when the ambassador of his rival, Abdullah Khan of Turan, was staying at the court.[122] Akbar might have felt disgusted and humiliated

118 Ibid.

119 Ibid.

120 Ibid., p. 300.

121 Ibid.

122 Ibid.

to receive the bad news in the presence of the ambassador and so he refused to recognize the treaty which had been imposed upon his officers in the face of hardships. Moreover, Yaqub had thrown to winds the fiction of Akbar's over lordship and in 1588 ordered the Khutba to be read and coin struck in his own name; instead of Akbar's.[123]

Finally, Akbar decided to conquer Kashmir and sent Qasim Khan to deal with Yaqub. After some serious fighting, on October 7, 1586, the Mughal troops reached Srinagar and read the Khutba in Akbar's name.[124] But it was only in 1589 that Yaqub was compelled to surrender.[125] The conquest of Kashmir made a great impression on the half subdued Rajas of the Punjab hills. The Rajas of Nagarkot, Jammu, Man, Jeswal and a dozen other chiefs hastened to offer their submission and presents to the Emperor (1590).[126] In 1591 Ali Rai the ruler of Little Tibet also sent presents and gave the hand of his daughter to Salim.[127] The tribal situation in the North-West has already been discussed. It has been noticed that Babar as well as Akbar tried to subdue the tribals of the Kabul Basin. Babar at times did it to get provisions for the army as the regions ruled by him were not generally productive. But Akbar's interest in crushing their forces was mainly to make journeys on the road safe

123 Ibid., p. 301.

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.

126 Ibid., p. 302.

127 Ibid.

and to keep a watch on all the possible entries to India through the North-West. For this purpose, Akbar sent forces to the tribal regions time and again.

The tribal problem became more acute by the popularity of the Roshaniyya sect among the Pathan tribal groups of the Kabul and Swat regions. Bayazid Ansari, the founder of the sect was born in 1525 at Jullunder but returned to Kaniguram, his parental home and was brought up there.[128] Bayazid's faith brought him into conflict with the Sunnis but his fervour and profundity won for him the devotion of a number of Afghan tribes. Bayazid became unpopular in his homeland and so fled to the Mohmands in Ningrahar and thence to the Khalils and Muhammadzais, among whom he made many converts in and around Peshawar and Hashtnagar.[129]

Bayazid transferred his headquarters to Tirah, where the Afridis, Orakzais, Khalils, Mohmauds and Bangala flocked to his standard.[130] In Tirah he conceived the idea of mobilizing the tribes to overthrow Akbar's empire and actually issued drafts of the treasury of Hakim, the feudatory in Kabul. He was arrested by Faridun and tried in Kabul for heresy but was acquitted.[131] Successful in many skirmishes, he was finally brought to battle by the Mughal

128 Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, p. 200.

129 Ibid., p. 203.

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid.

general Muhsin Khan and defeated with great slaughter at a place called Baro in Ningrahar.

His mantle fell on his son Omar, but he estranged the sympathies of Yusuf Zais and was defeated and killed. His youngest brother Jalaluddin or Jalala, a boy of 14 years was taken prisoner and brought before Akbar in 1581 while he was returning from his first Kabul expedition.[132] Akbar ordered that Jalala be set at liberty. It was an act of clemency which involved not only Akbar himself but his son and grandson, in disturbances which lasted for another fifty years.[133]

Akbar, after a few encounters with the tribes of the region, realized very well, that the full control over these negative tribal areas is neither profitable nor advisable and, of course, least possible. Thus, it seems that he made a working plan of controlling the Khaibar pass road. For this he not only sent the imperial army but also employed the local tribal group Khatak in warding off the continual forays of the powerful Yusuf Zais who made a habit of raiding carvans passing on the highway from Attock to the west.[134] This arrangement worked quite successfully and carvans usually passed through Khyber without any problem.

The compulsions and advantages of the conquest of Qandahar region have already been discussed (2.3.1.6). It was

132 R.P. Tripathi, p. 303.

133 Q. Caroe, p. 210.

134 Ibid., p. 212.

felt necessary to conquer Qandahar and to make the Indian empire stable and strong. Akbar was also aware of the fact that in order to conquer and control Qandahar, it was necessary to hold Sind or Thatta. Circumtances in which Thatta region was conquered have already been discussed (2.3.3.4). After the conquest of Qandahar and Baluchistan in 1595, the boundaries of North West India reached its maximum extent and remained so far more than 25 years.

Apart from extending the boundaries of the empire, Akbar did try and succeeded in bringing socio-economic reforms, in the country. The political stability, based on economic development, administrative reforms and social justice, provided suitable conditions for the development of strong inter-regional linkages in the North-West India and elsewhere in the country.

Jahangir: Jahangir, who succeeded Akbar in October 1605, consolidated the administrative system which had developed under his predecessor. He maintained the alliance with the Rajputs and tried to further broaden the political base of the empire by allaying with powerful sectors such as Afghans and Marathas. The Mughals played a positive role in establishing India's relations with the neighbouring Asian powers such as Iran, the Uzbeks and Ottoman Turks, thereby opening up greater avenues of India's foreign trade. Trade concessions given to various European trading companies were also aimed at promoting India's foreign trade.

The strength of the Mughal empire grew considerably during the reign of Jahangir. However, parts of Kabul and Qandahar regions remained under partial control of the mighty Mughals. The Mughal repression did not crush the independent and rebellious spirit of the Pathans but kept them within reasonable bounds and did not give them any other opportunity of collecting a considerable force.

In the beginning of Jahangir's reign (1606-7), the Persian ruler, Shah Abbas, had made a half hearted attempt to capture Qandahar but could not succeed.[135] He, however, kept his eyes fixed on Qandahar and changed his course of action and opened a friendly correspondence with the Emperor, sent presents, and, at intervals sent at least four ambassadors. By those means he expected to pursuade Jahangir to transfer Qandahar to Persia. He, at last, succeeded in deluding him because the military equipments at Qandahar were neglected and its garrison was allowed to dwindle.[136]

In 1621, it was rumoured that the Shah of Persia had collected a large army with a view to capture Qandahar. Jahangir could not believe this. However, by way of precaution he sent a farman to Shah Jahan to come to the court with his army, elephants and artillary.[137] In the meanwhile it was reported to Jahangir that Shah Abbas had come

135 R.P. Tripathi, op.cit., p. 388.

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid., p. 389.

personally and besieged Qandahar.

Shah Jahan refused to go to Qandahar immediately as he wanted to be allowed to stay on at Mandu till the end of the rains. He also wanted to have an absolute command of the army and full control of the Punjab. He was aware of the importance of a full and unqualified co-operation of the province situated on the main road and contiguous to the field of operations.[138] Apparently, the attitude of the Prince was plausible. But Jahangir was interested in immediate action with all available force to save Qandahar before the Persians had consolidated their position. He was deeply vexed at the conditions proposed by Shah Jahan and thought these were excuses. While the Emperor was still engaged in collecting the army and settling the affairs with Shah Jahan, the Persian King captured the fort of Qandahar after a siege of forty-five days.[139]

Jahangir was anxious to recover Qandahar if he could when the Shah of Persia sent his ambassador, Haider Beg, with a letter stressing the claims of Persia over Qandahar and expressing his intention of maintaining friendly relations with the Mughal court.[140] Jahangir replied "what could be in a petty village (Qandahar) that he should set out to take it, and he should shut his eyes to so much

138 Ibid., p. 390.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid.; T.J., II, pp. 240-42.

friendship and brotherly feeling".[141]

Taking advantage of the rebellion of Shah Jahan and the loss of Mughal prestige caused by the fall of Qandahar, Nazar Muhammad, the Uzbek lord of Balkh sent an expedition against Kabul and Ghazni in the nineteenth year of Jahangir's reign.[142] The Uzbek commander Yalahktush captured some territory of Ghazni and wanted to subdue the Hazaras. The governor of Kabul reinforced Hazaras and defeated the Uzbek officer. The Uzbeks attacked again but were defeated and plundered by the Mughal forces. The Uzbeks now realised the futility of their attempt and Nazar Muhammad sent a letter of apology saying the Uzbek commander had done the mischief of attacking without his permission.[143]

As mentioned earlier, Akbar as well as Jahangir tried to develop friendly relations with the neighbouring countries. It was possible only after they consolidated the Indian Empire. When the Uzbeks realized that the Mughals, their arch rivals, had established their own powerful empire in India, they treated them with respect and on equal terms. The same was the case with the Persians. The Mughals on the other hand, after the death of Humayun, lost interest in their traditional homeland which was under the effective control of the Uzbeks. This also helped in maintaining relatively better relations with the Uzbeks. As observed earlier, Qandahar was the only bone of contention

141 T.J., II, p. 244.

142 R.P. Tripathi, op.cit., p. 391.

143 Ibid.

between India and Persia. Although both were interested in possessing the strong and strategically located fort of Qandahar, but neither of them were interested in capturing it at the cost of their friendly relations. In fact Qandahar changed hands during the period under study frequently, but, without much bloodshed. Close and friendly political relations were necessary for the development of trade and commerce, they realized.

Thus, it is clear that for the development of inter-regional linkages political integration of the country under the rule of Akbar and Jahangir played a crucial role. Political consolidation helped in the establishment of conditions of law and order over extensive areas and buttressed the friendly relations with the neighbouring countries and with European traders.

3.1.3 Social Bases

The significance of the social bases of regional linkages can hardly be denied. Two important factors which strengthen regional linkages are social stability and cultural synthesis in a country or a region. Conversely, social injustice and lack of communal harmony may create a sense of suspicion among people and make linkages weak. Hence themovement of people, culture, ideas and commodities is only possible when different social groups feel a sense of security.

India became economically and politically very strong

under Akbar and Jahangir. This strength of the empire was mainly due to the socio-cultural synthesis of various communities living in the country. This synthesis resulted from Akbar's deep rooted secular policies which united the Hindus and Muslims of the country. His benevolent attitude towards his opponents and parental love towards his subjects without distinction of sect or creed, developed confidence among different communities. Jahangir followed the same policy with success.

It is necessary to discuss some of the policies of the Mughals which helped in establishing permanent ties among different communities living in the country and led to rapid cultural development by amalgamating the Indian traditions with the Turko-Iranian culture, brought to the country by the Mughals. In this section we shall highlight some of the policies which were responsible for the social integration and cultural synthesis in the region under discussion.

Social Integration: In 1562 Akbar took the momentous step of entering into systematic matrimonial alliances with the Rajputs. It was, however, doubtful if at that time he was very clear in his mind about his secular policy and its far-reaching consequences. But, when in 1563 he abolished the pilgrim taxes at Mathura (levied at the sacred places of the Hindus) and announced in 1564 the abolition of the jizya on the Hindus, it became clear that he was not acting

without a definite purpose and plan.[144] Further reforms might have followed but the outbreak of the Uzbek rebellion with all its manifold complications diverted his attention to wars and conquests.

The marriages between Rajput women and Muslim rulers were not unusual but most of these had not led to the establishment of any stable personal relations between concerned families. Akbar followed a different policy. He gave complete religious freedom to his Hindu wives and gave honoured place to their parents and relation in the nobility. Bara Mal[145] was made a high grandee. The infant prince, Danyal, was sent to Amber to be brought up by Bara Mal's wives. Bara Mal was also placed in charge of Agra which indeed was a great honour. His son Bhagwan Rao, rose to the rank of 5,000 and his grandson, Man Singh to the rank of 7,000 - the rank accorded by Akbar to only one other noble, Aziz Khan Kokas, Akbar's foster brother.

After the conquest of Chittor, most of the leading Rajput rulers accept Mewar had accepted Akbar's suzerainty and paid personal homage to him. The ruler of Jaisalmer and Bikaner had also entered into matrimonial relations with Akbar. Not that Akbar insisted upon matrimonial relations as a precondition of peace with the rulers who

144 R.P. Tripathi, op.cit., p. 229.

145 In 1562, Bara Mal Kachwaha, Raja of Amber came to Akbar to seek protection from the Governor of Mewat. Akbar received the Raja with kindness and promised to bring his trouble to an end. Raja Bara Mal gave one of his daughters in marriage to Akbar. (Tripathi, op.cit., pp. 185-86).

submitted Akbar. No matrimonial relations were entered into with Hadas of Ranthambhor, and yet they remained high in Akbar's favour. The relations between Mughals became strong and cordial. When Udai Singh the ruler of Jodhpur married his daughter Jagat Gosain or Jodha Bai to Salim, a number of Hindu practices were followed. Apart from these Rajput houses, Akbar also had close personal relations with the ruler of Bikaner and Bundi.

Akbar's Rajput policy proved beneficial to the Mughal state as well as to the Rajputs. The alliance provided to the Mughal Empire the services of the bravest warriors of India, and made consolidation and expansion of the empire easier. It is interesting to note that unlike the Sultans of Delhi, who tried to consolidate and strengthen their forces with their own kith and kin, Akbar by inducing the Rajputs into the Mughal army made the empire absolutely Indian. Jahangir a son of a Rajput mother continued Akbar's Rajput policy and ultimately was able to settle the outstanding dispute with Mewar successfully. Thus, Jahangir completed the task began by Akbar and further strengthened the alliance with the Rajputs.

Akbar not only tried to develop ties with the Rajputs but he also tried to promote greater understanding among all the communities of the country. In fact, during the fifteenth century, a number of rulers in different parts of the country had tried to promote greater understanding between the Hindus and Muslims by having secular and reli-

gious literature in Sanskrit translated into Persian; by giving patronage to local languages and literature; by adopting a more liberal policy of religious toleration and in some cases by giving important jobs, including service at the court and in the army to the Hindu. Popular saints, such as Chaitanya, Kabir and Nanak, in different parts of the country emphasised the essential unity of Islam and Hinduism, and laid stress on a religion based on love and devotion rather than one based on a literal interpretation of revealed books. Akbar not only followed this philosophy but persuaded it to its ultimate limit.

Akbar possessed a complex personality but a distinct individuality. He had inherited the daring and broad mindedness of Babar, the patience and mysticism of his father, and the religious-mindedness of his mother. From his childhood he had been mixing with Mughal, Turkish, Afghan and Persian nobles and had thus escaped the contamination of a parochial outlook which renders men incapable of understanding the views and ways of others.[146]

From the very beginning of his reign, Akbar gradually accepted a policy of dynamic toleration and active sympathy for religious and spiritual movements. As mentioned earlier, he abolished the poll tax on jizyah which the non-Muslims were required to pay in a Muslim state. Although it was not a heavy tax, it was disliked because it made a distinction between Muslims and Non-Muslims. At the

146 R.P. Tripathi, op.cit., pp. 246-47.

same time, Akbar abolished the pilgrim tax on bathing at holy places such as Prayag, Banaras, etc. He also abolished the practice of forcibly converting prisoners of war to Islam. This laid the strong foundation of an empire based on equal rights to all citizen, irrespective of their religious beliefs.

Akbar's attitude towards his non-Muslim subjects is closely linked with his views of hos a sovereign should behave towards his subjects. A true ruler was distinguished by a paternal love towards his subjects without distinction of sect or creed, a large heart so that the wishes of great and small were attended to. It was also the duty of the ruler to maintain equalibrium in society by not allowing people of one rank or profession to interfere in the duties and obligations of another.

In 1575, Akbar gave orders for the construction of the Ibadat Khana, which was intended for the gathering of selected representatives of theologians, lawyers and mystics.[147] In the beginning Muslim Ulamas and scholars were invited to discuss religious and spiritual matters. Instead of developing better understanding and appreciation the Mullahs wrangled, shouted and even in the presence of the emperor abused each other.[148] At this stage, Akbar opened the Ibadat Khana to people of all regions - Christians, Zoroatrians, Hindus, Jains and even atheists.[149]

147 Ibid., p. 249.

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid.

Unfortunately, debates in the Ibadat Khana had not led to a better understanding between the different religions. In a way, it created greater bitterness, as the representatives of each religion denounced the other and tried to prove that their religion was superior to others. Hence, in 1582, Akbar discontinued the debates in the Ibadat Khana but continued his quest for truth.

Cultural Synthesis: Though Akbar did not succeed in uniting scholars of different religions but he established his image of a King above all the sectarian considerations. His open and inquistive mind gave rise to an outburst of many sided cultural activity in India. The traditions in the field of architecture, painting, literature and music created during the period of Akbar and Jahangir, deeply influenced the later generations. The development of art and culture in various regions of India during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had led to a rich and varied tradition from which it was possible to draw upon. During this period people belonging to different faiths and races contributed to this cultural development in various ways. In a way, this emerging culture lead towards the development of a truly national culture.

Architecture: The Mughals built magnificient forts, palaces, gates, mosques, public buildings and baolis. These buildings display a lot of architectural synthesis which the Mughal rulers patronized.

In 1572, Akbar commenced a palace-cum-fort complex at Fatehpur Sikri which was completed in eight years. Built on top of a hill, along with a large artificial lake, it included many buildings in the style of Gujarat and Bengal. In the Panch Mahal, built for taking the air, all types of pillars used in various Hindu temples were employed to support flat roofs. Persian and Central Asian influence can also be seen in the glazed blue tiles[150] used for decoration in the walls or for tiling the roofs. The most magnificent piece in this complex, however, was the Buland Darwaza, built to commemorate Akbar's victory in Gujarat. The half-dome-portal style of the gate was borrowed from Iran. With the consolidation of the empire, Mughal architecture reached its climax.

Painting: During this period a lot of development took place in the field of painting. New themes of depicting the court battle scenes and the chase were introduced. New colours and forms were also added. The richness of the Mughal style of painting was due to the fact that India had an old tradition of painting. Apart from palm-leaf manuscripts and illustrated Jain texts from thirteenth century, some of the provincial kingdoms, such as Malwa and Gujarat extended their patronage to painting during the fifteenth century.

When Humayun was at the court of the Shah of Iran, he employed into his service two master painters who accompanied him to India. Under the leadership of these painters,

during the reign of Akbar, the art of painting was organized in one of the imperial establishments. A large number of farmers from different parts of the country were invited, many of them from low castes. Jaswant and Dasawan were two of the famous painters of Akbar's court. The school developed rapidly and became a celebrated centre of production. Apart from illustrating Persian books of fables, the painters were asked to illustrate the Persian text of the Mahabharat and Akbar Nama and others. Indian themes and Indian landscapes thus came in vogue and helped to free the school from Persian influence. Under Akbar, European paintings were also introduced at the court by the Portuguese priests.

The art of Mughal painting, however, reached a climax under Jahangir. Under him special progress was made in portrait painting and painting of animals. Mansoor was the great name in this field. From Mughal courts the tradition of painting reached the states of Rajasthan and the Panjab hills.

Language, Literature and Music: The knowledge of Persian was quite widespread in north India by the time of Akbar. Persian prose and poetry reached a climax under Akbar's reign. Abul Fazl, leading historians of the age was a great scholar and stylist. He set a style of prose-writing in Persian which was emulated for many generations. The leading poet of the age was his brother Faizi who also

helped in the translation department set up by Akbar. The translation of the Mahabharata was carried out under his supervision. Utbi and Naziri, were among the many poets who migrated from Iran to India during this period and made the Mughal court one of the most important cultural centres. Hindus also contributed to the growth of Persian literature.

Regional languages developed significantly and acquired stability and maturity and some of the finest lyrical poetry was produced during this period. Ramayana and Mahabharata were translated into regional languages. A few translations and adaptations from Persian were also made. Medieval Hindi in the Brij form was also patronised by the Mughal emperors and Hindu rulers. From the time of Akbar Hindi poets began to be attached to the Mughal court.

Akbar was a great patron of music. There were numerous musicians at his court; Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris, both men and women. The court musicians were arranged in seven divisions, one for each day in the week.[151] Tansen was the best musician of Akbar's court. He is credited with creating many new melodies (ragas). He was from Gwalior gharana as was Baba Ramdas - second only to Tansen. The development of Indian music is the true indication of a high degree of cultural synthesis in the Indian society.

It is interesting to note that cultural synthesis

151 Ain, I, p. 681.

and development of art, literature, architecture, painting and music took place most during the reign of Akbar, a king who did not learn the art of writing and did not like reading even if he could.[152]

The whole socio-cultural atmosphere of the country changed by the liberal policies of Akbar and Jahangir. The impact of Akbar's liberal and tolerant policy was so much that "The Hindus were soon made to feel much their protector as of any one else. By his policy of Sulh Kul, namely, peace with all, the Hindus were brought round to feel enthusiasm for the Mughal Empire and shed their blood for it."[153]

Thus, during the early Mughal period in India conditions were perfect for socio-cultural interaction among the people belonging to different regions, religious, linguistic groups, castes and creeds etc. Apart from the Mughal court, various cultural centres grew in North-West India and other regions. These cultural centres, not only attracted people from Iran and Turan but from different regions of the country. The presence of scholars, artists, architects, artisans and musicians from different regions in the urban centres of North-West India proves the point.

3.2 Physical Determinents of Regional Linkages

Physical features can either have a stimulating or

152 R.P. Tripathi, op.cit., p. 343.

153 Ibid., p. 341.

an impeding influence on the development of regional linkages. Throughout history features like mountain passes and rivers have played a crucial role in the development of regional links by providing well defined natural routes. The determinability of these features increases as we go back in time and as transport technology becomes less efficient.

In mountainous regions, like the one under study, mountain passes have played a decisive role in providing natural passages connecting two regions. They have made communication possible even among regions which are physically separated. Similarly in the plain regions with mighty and broad rivers, fords have played a determining role in the development of possible routes for communication. An attempt will, therefore, be made in this section to identify the popular and known mountain passes and river fords which were being used during the period of early Mughals in North-West India.

3.2.1 Mountain Passes

Mountain passes in North West India have played a decisive role in the history of the sub-continent of India at least upto the Moghul times. Almost all the conquerors of India during the ancient and the medieval times have come through these passes. The Aryans, the Sakas, Kushans and Huns used these passes during the ancient period. Subsequent invasions during the medieval period by Mahmud

of Ghazni, the Ghouris, Khiljis and Lodis were also routed through these passes. The case of Europeans in general and Britishers in particular was, however, different as they came to India through the southern water ways. Their knowledge of these passes was very poor, as they knew very little about the geography of this region. To them this area was 'Indian trans-frontier' and these passes appeared very mysterious. In this section, an attempt will be made to recapture the knowledge of the early Mughals and contemporary chroniclers, of the mountain passes of the region. The passes, mentioned in the contemporary literature consulted, may be grouped under the following heads:

i) Passes through Hindu Kush Mountains,
ii) Passes through the Swat Hills,
iii) Passes through the Sulaiman Ranges,
iv) Passes through the Peshawar Hills,
v) Passes through the Hills surrounding the Kashmir valley.

3.2.1.1 Passes Through the Hindu Kush Mountains:

The Hindu Kush mountain, forms a water-shed between the Indus river system and the Amu system, and separates the Kabul region from Balkh, Qunduz and Badakhshan. There are several important passes in the range. Seven of them were mentioned by Babar while describing the Kabul region.[154]

154 There are other passes also through the Hindu Kush mountains, but probably Babar mentions only those seven passes which were more important and less

of these seven, according to Babar three lead to Panj-sher[155] region. He mentions that out of these three passes, Khawak was the highest.[156] South-east of Khawak pass was another pass on the Tul road. According to Babar the pass "on the Tul[157] road is the best, but the road itself is rather the longest whence, seemingly, it is called Tul."[158] East of Tul road was the Bazarak[159] road and

Cont'd... f.n. 154

difficult to traverse. It is possible that other passes, with higher altitude and difficult climb, were being used only by local tribal groups and were not suitable for commercial purposes and military campaigns. Some of the roads through other passes were developed later on.

155 It is Panj-sher of ancient times. Panj means five and sher means lions. It refers to the five lion-sons of Pandu.

156 BN, p. 204. Khawak means hollow. As also mentioned by Babar, this is the northern most pass of the Panj-sher valley. This pass has an elevation of 11640 feet. This road is rather long because from Charikar it is along the Panjsher river in the direction of north-east. After passing through the pass of Khawak it follows the Andrab river towards the west almost from its source.

157 Tul means long, so it is a long route. Like Khawak pass route, Tul pass road is also long and both these passes lie very close to each other. Certainly both of these routes were long to go to Kabul from Balkh and Qunduz. Though these passes are close to Badakhshan, but due to the physical structure of the region there was no good direct road between Andrab river and Badakhshan region. Although Babar mentioned during a later period that this pass road is the best which may be due to construction of better roads.

158 BN, p. 205.

159 Bazarak means small-bazar road. In comparison with the Khawak and Tul passes of Panjsher valley, this

Babar mentions that "Bazarak is the most direct like Tul, it leads over into Sar-i-ab, as it passes through Parandi, local people call its main pass the Parandi."[160] (See Map 3.1)

Abul Fazl, probably copied the description of these passes from Babarnama, but it seems that he could not follow the language of Babar. While referring to the Khawak pass he mentions that it is the highest instead of stating that it is the upper most or northern most pass. He writes "the highest ... is over the Khawak pass, below this is Tal, and next lower in succession Bazarak."[161]

There is a break between the hills of Panjsher and Ghorband Valley. From this break strikes off one well known route across the backbone of the Hindu Kush. From the Kabul side the route starts from Parwan, an ancient town, and the head-quarter of Sabaktagin and leads to the main pass (presently referred to as Baj-gah). The head of the pass was known as Sar Alang.[162] Babar mentioned this pass separately. In the words of Babar, "Another road leads up through Parwan, it has seven minor passes, known as Haft-bacha (seven-young lings), between Parwan and its

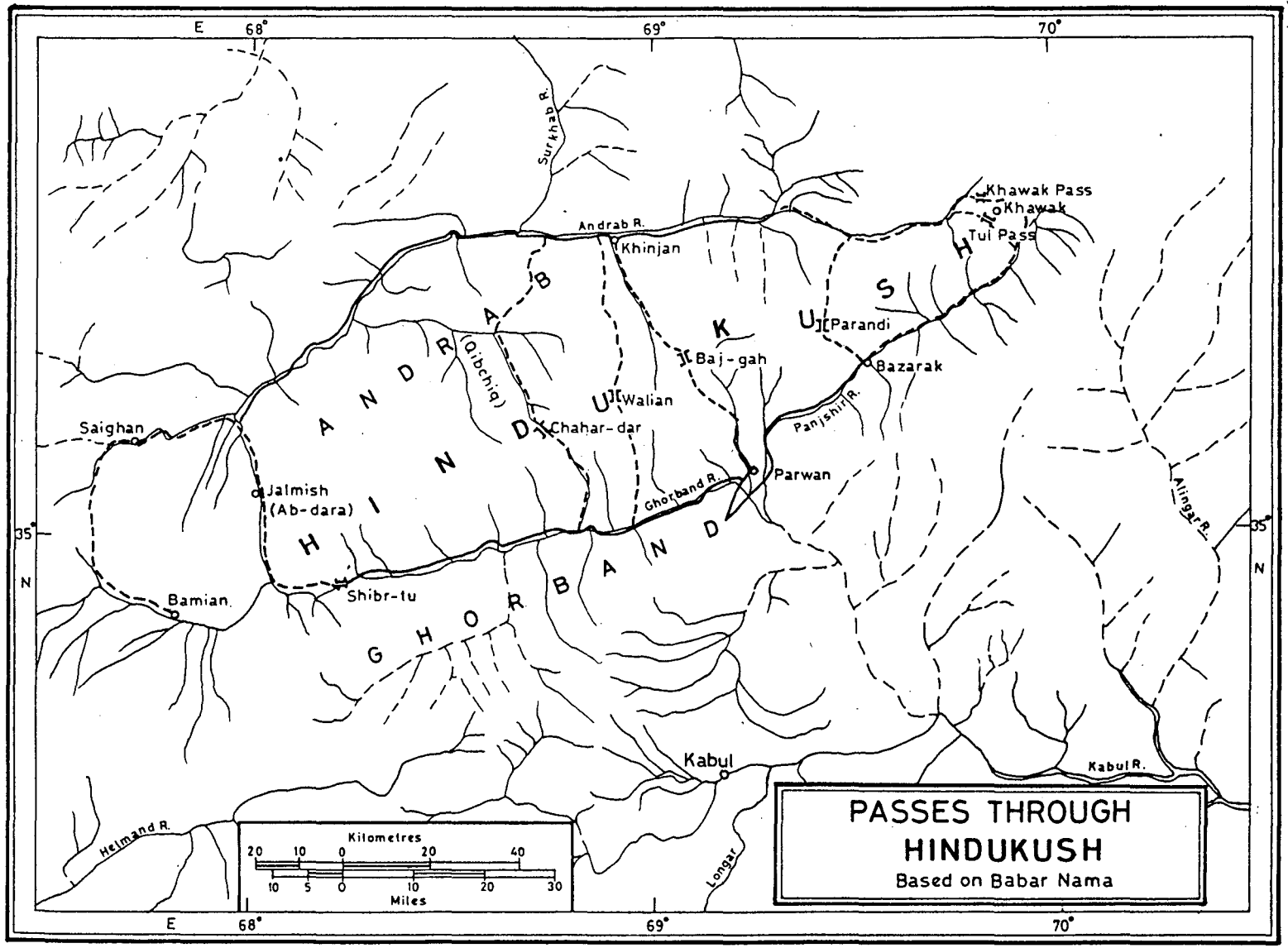
Cont'd... f.n. 159

pass road is more direct. The road on the Kabul side, starts from Bazarak village, on the Panjsher river, crosses Hindu-Kush through Parandi pass and reaches Andrab river. Though it has an elevation of 15984 feet (meter), due to being shortest of the Panjsher valley passes, it has been used very frequently.

160 BN, p. 205.

161 Ain, II, p. 405.

162 Holdich, Gates, p. 414.


E 68°
69°
70°
35° N
Surkhab R.
Andrab R.
Khinjan
Khawak Pass
Khawak
Tul Pass
Parandi
Bazarak
Baj-gah
Walian
Chahar-dar
Saighan
Jalmish
(Ab-dara)
Bamian
Shibr-tu
Parwan
Ghorband R.
Panjshir R.
Alingar R.
Kabul
Kabul R.
Helmand R.
Longar
HINDUKUSH
ANDRAB
(Qibchiq)
GHORBAND
Kilometres
20 10 0 20 40
10 5 0 10 20 30
Miles
PASSES THROUGH
HINDUKUSH
Based on Babar Nama

Map 3.1

main pass[163] (Baj-gah). It is joined at its main pass by two roads from Andrab[164] which go on to Parwan by it. This is a road full of difficulties."[165]

Though there are various passes through the Hindu Kush mountains in the Ghorband area. Babar took note of only three important ones. According to Babar, "Out of Ghurbund... three roads lead over."[166] Abul Fazl once again, could not follow the language of Babar and not knowing the region well, observed, "Three other roads lead by Paran up the Ghorband Valley."[167] While discussing these three roads Babar mentions that "The one next[168] to Parwan, known as

163 This pass might have been more important before the times of Babar, as it leads to "Parwan a commercial site more ancient than that of Kabul the headquarters of Sabaktagin, the Ghuri conqueror, when he wrested Kabul from Hindu kings, and of Timur the Tartar in later ages. Consequently, the pass which bears north from that point is often called the Parwan". Holdich, Gates, p. 414. The seven small passes mentioned by Babar are difficult to locate because the detailed maps of the area are not available.

164 It is difficult to locate, the second road from the main pass to Andrab, the first one being the road which comes from Khinjan. Possibly the other road was from the village of Yach, but, may be, due to the improvement of the eastern pass-road the traffic had been diverted towards this road.

165 The difficulties of the road are also mentioned by Holdich while discussing Lord William Bentinck's March in 1832 'Lord selected the Parwan or Sar Alang Pass, narrow, rocky, and uneven with a fall of about 200 feet per mile, and was fairly defeated in this attempt to cross, on October 19, by snow. This is about the closing time of the passes generally, the Parwan being only 12300 feet in altitude, although lord estimated it at 15,000", Holdich, Gates, p. 414; BN, p. 205.

166 BN, p. 205.

167 Ain, p. 405.

168 Babar did not take note of another important pass bet-

the Yangi-yul pass[169] (New road), goes through Walian[170] to Khinjan".[171] Next to this pass road is Qipchag road.[172] Babar refers to it as the crossing where the water of Andrab meets Surk -ab (Qizilsu) this also is an excellent road.[173] The last and western most pass road on Hindu Kush

Cont'd... f.n. 168

ween Parwan and Walian, known as Kushan or Kaoshan. According to local tradition this pass was traversed by Alexander.

169 It is now known as Walian (Saints) pass. Probably, it was a newly developed pass-road during Babars times. According to Holdich it is "an alternative to the Kaoshan when latter is in flood", Holdich, Gates, p. 414.

170 Pass at Walian has an elevation of 15100 feet (meter) whereas more knwn pass of Kushan, east of Walian is 14350 feet (meter). May be, due to the newly developed Walian road, Kushan pass became less important, for some time. Like Parwan road this road also leads upto Andrab near Khinjan.

171 BN, p. 205.

172 Pass of the Qipchaq road is chahardar, the highest on Hindu Kush with an elevation of 18900 feet (meter).

173 Holdich describes the difficulties of the pass-road in these words. "It is well also to remember, that it is not the physical difficulties of the rough roads and narrow passes which form the chief obstacle to the movement of large bodies of troops. Roads can be made, and crooked places straightened with comparative ease, but altitude sheer altitude, still remains a formidable barrier". Holdich, Gates, p. 419. One can imagine the difficulties of this pass during Babar's time but Babar praises it "for the brave warrier road was excellent". Babar used this pass while he was coming to Kabul, for the first time from Farghana. This pass lead to Doshi, near the confluence of Andrab with Surkhab. BN, p. 205.

according to Babar was Shibr-tu. Babar mentions that "those crossing by this in the heats take their way by Bamian and Saighan, but those crossing by it in winter, go on by Ab-dora (water-valley). Shibr-tu[174] excepted, all the Hindu Kush roads are closed for three or four months in winter, because no road through a valley bottom is passable when the waters are high. If anyone ventures to cross the Hindu Kush at that time over the mountains, instead of through the valley-bottom, his journey is hard indeed. The time to cross is during the three or four autumn months when the snow is less and the waters are low. Whether on the mountains or the valley bottoms, Kafir high waymen are not few."[175] This long passage from Babarnama not only provides information regarding the pass but also proves that Babar's geographical knowledge and understanding was excellent.

174 Beveridge saw the significance of the use of tur with the Shibr pass. As he writes "Shibr is a Hazara district between the head of the Ghurbund Valley and Bamian. It does not seem to be correct to omit the tur from the name of the pass. Persian tu, turn twist (syn pich) occurs in other names of the local passes; to read it here as a turn agrees with what is said of Shibr-tu pass as not crossing but turning the Hindu Kush (Cunningham)"; BN, p. 205 (fn. 2).

Certainly it is not exactly a pass through Hind Kush range but it turns and avoids the range. The elevation is at least, 9800 feet (meter), as compared to other passes of the Hindu-Kush range. An alternative route to Andrab valley, after passing Shibr-tu pass, is Ab-dara or Jal mish. This road is along one of the tributaries of the Surkh-ab, rising from Koh-i-Baba, and has no mountain pass. The other road is through the Bamian, an ancient town and leads upto Saighan. This road passes through two mountain passes, Ak Rabat and Katarsun. Ak Rabat has an elevation of 10,200 feet (meter).

175 BN, p. 205.

3.2.1.2 Passes Through Swat

The Sarkar of Swat, was mostly a hilly terrain. To the south of the hilly parts of Swat and Bajaur districts and north of the Kabul river, lay a fertile plain, known as the Samah. Several passes lie between these plains and the rugged hills of the north. These passes were however inconsequential because very little interaction took place between the Yusufzai Pathans inhabiting the hilly tracts and the Mughals since the Yusufzai's were opposed to any idea of Mughal rule in this region.

The roads to the hilly areas of Swat and Bajaur through these passes were difficult to traverse both from "Hindustan or from the Kabul region. The terrain and the ascents and descents of the passes was so difficult that a very strong Mughal army while passing through them[176] lost thousands of its soldiers in its campaign against the Yusufzais in the Swat region in 1586.

Abul Fazl has refered to some of the important pass-roads of the Sarkar of Swat. According to him there were

176 AN, III, pp. 715-35.

Swat region was attacked by Akbar's army in 1585-86. In this campaign two of Abul Fazl's brothers also took part with other important courtiers of Akbar. Abul Fazl, thus, might have been well informed about the happenings of the region, but it seems that due to the confusion in the camp and a disastrous defeat of the army against the Yusufzais, some important information was not included in the Akbar Nama. Regarding pass-roads to Swad, information given by Abul Fazl is insufficient and the name of these passes do not coincide with the names of passes of earlier and later periods.

two roads in the Buner district of Swad. One led from Hindustan, viz. the Sherkhani[177] pass and the second Balandari Kotal.[178] Although both routes are difficult to traverse, the first is more rugged[179] (see Map 3.2.).

District of Swad, the largest of the three districts of the Sarkar of Swad, is mentioned as having many pass-roads from various regions. According to Ain, "It possesses many defiles. Near, Damghar pass which leads to Kashghar[180] is a town of Manglor the residence of the governor".[181]

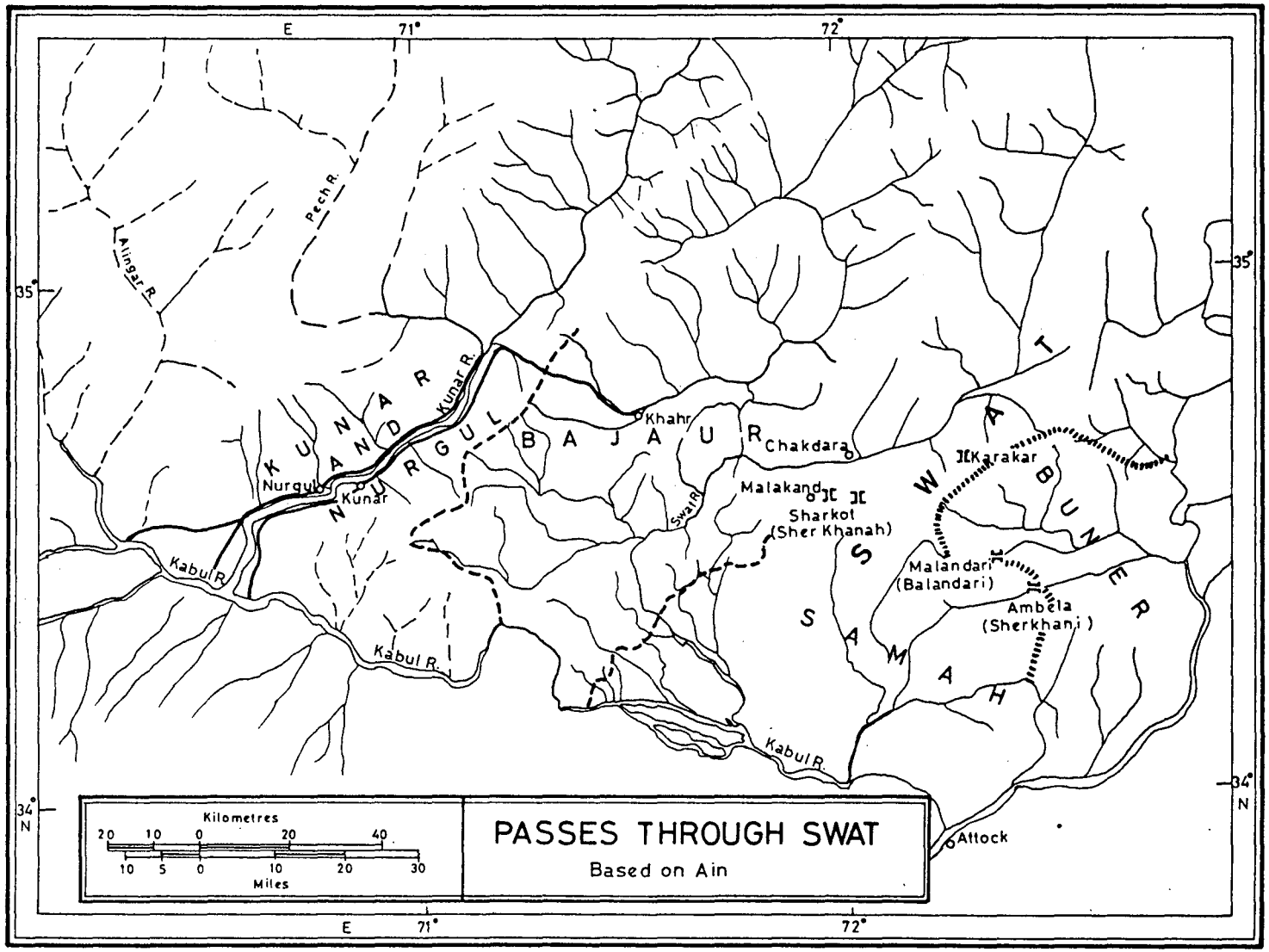
177 There is no reference to Sherkhani pass, in any other source, and so it is difficult to identify it. Abul Fazl also gave no other detail of this pass-road. But with the help of various books on historical geography and modern as well as old maps of British period and above all Olaf Caroe's book, it seems definite that the Sherkhani pass cannot be any other than Ambela, east of Malandrai pass, as there are no other important passes to Buner district, than Ambela and Malandri.

178 Balandari is certainly a clerical error for Malandri, as in Persian script, difference is not much (). Although exact heights of both Ambela and Malandri have not been mentioned in any of the sources used but from the maps it is clear that these passes are not higher than 5000 feet (meter). The road, due to a difficult and steep climb, was dangerous during Akbar's period.

179 Ain, II, p. 397.

180 Regarding Kashghar, Javett writes "By Kashghar cannot be meant the well known pass to E. Turkastan which is so far removed, but chitral or Kash kar, which according to Erskine (Babar's Memoirs) is corruption of Kashghar with the territory of which it was long included". Ain, II, p. 397, fn. 2. It is not possible to find any pass of this name in the maps, north of Manglor.

181 Ain, II, pp. 397-98.


E
71°
72°
35°
34° N
Alingar R.
Pech R.
Kunar R.
KUNAR
NURGUL
BAJAUR
SWAT
BUNER
SWAMAH
Nurgul
Kunar
Khahr
Chakdara
Karakar
Malakand
Sharkot
(Sher Khanah)
Swat R.
Malandari
(Balandari)
Ambela
(Sherkhani)
Kabul R.
Kabul R.
Kabul R.
Attock
Kilometres
20 10 0 20 40
10 5 0 10 20 30
Miles
PASSES THROUGH SWAT
Based on Ain

Map 3.2

Apart from this pass, two roads lead to Hindustan through the passes of Malkhand,[182] Baj and Sherkhandah.[183]

Abul Fazl refers to many passes[184] leading from Kabul to Bajaur with out naming them. Possibily the passes referred to lie on ranges which separate Bajaur from Kunar and Nurgul. Of these passes Suka pass is the most important. According to Ain, "It has only three roads, one from Hindustan called Damishkol, and two from Kabul, one called Samaj and the other Kunar and Nurkil, the easiest of these being Danishkol". There is however, no reference to any pass on these roads. Possibily, Kunar and Nurgul route was more popular to go to the Bajaur fort (Khahr) from Kabul side as compared to Samaj (Possibily Smah) road.

Apart from these passes there were some other important ones between Swat and Buner districts. Abul Fazl, while describing the humiliating defeat of the Imperial Army by the strong Yusufzais, refers to Karakar pass bet-

182 Ain, II, p. 398. It is Malakand pass of modern maps. Still this is the most important pass of the Swat region. The pass of Malakand lies just across the low range which separates Malakand from the Samah. Samah is a Pakhtu word for plain, and is applied to the part of the Peshawar (Bigram) valley north of the Landai river. It has an elevation of 3580 feet (meter). As it is very close to the northern most point, the Samah has been important from the view point of strategy. Abul Fazl, also refers to it as Malakand in AN, III, pp. 721-27.

183 Ain, II, p. 398. There is no pass of this name now. Like the pass of Sherkhani of Buner, this pass of Sherkhanah has not been referred to in any of the sources. In all probability, it is Shahkot of the modern times. Shahkot pass lies east of the Malakand and has been less important as compared to Malakand pass.

184 Ain, II, p. 398.

ween Swad and Buner.[185] The pass according to him was difficult to traverse particularly for big armies.

3.2.1.3 Passes Through Sulaiman Ranges

The Sulaiman Ranges run roughly north-east and south-west but has many divagations. The most important of these is in its highest part, i.e. the Safed Koh (Koh-i-Safed) running east and west.[186] The Sikaram peak with an elevation of 15620 feet (meter) is the highest point in the whole region, south of the river Kabul and east of Kabul-Ghazni axis. There are several other snow covered peaks in the Safed Koh. Babar mentions that it is called Safed Koh because its snow never lessens".[187] Though there are a few passes on the Safed Koh range but due to the high elevations and snow covered areas, there was no practicable road through it. Babar states this clearly as he states, "no riding road crosses it".[188] Thus, all the roads connecting Kabul with Peshawar were through the north of the Safed Koh range.[189]

185 AN, III, p. 721.

186 Caroe, p. xviii.

187 BN, p. 209. Safed Koh means white mountain; in Pakhtu, Spin-ghur (Spin Ghar).

188 BN, p. 209.

189 Though in the modern maps, few tracks are shwon connecting Kabul Valley with certain settlements on the northern slopes of Safed Koh but these settlements are not higher than 7000 feet (meter). There is only one track which joins Jalalabad with Kurram and passes through the Safed Koh range. This track was, however, not meant for heavy traffic.

The mountain ranges, south of the Safed Koh, have few considerably broad river valleys to allow traffic along them. Prior to Babar, these river valleys and the mountain passes were being used by various invaders from the west and by merchants of Hindustan and other regions. Babar and Abul Fazl, both refer to these pass-roads of Sulaiman ranges, without mentioning the name of these passes. However, it is not difficult to identify these passes, as the names of the regions through which these roads passed are mentioned.

According to Babar as well as Abul Fazl there were three roads passing through the Sulaiman ranges.[190] As mentioned earlier, it seems that Abul Fazl copied the description of these Passes from the Babar Nama. The knowledge of Abul Fazl, about this part of the Kabul region, was limited as compared to Babar since the region was not under the effective rule of Akbar. About the passes through Sulaiman (Mehtar Sulaiman) range Babar writes, "one is by way of Bangash,[191] another by Nagh[192] (Naghz) and another through

190 BN, p. 209, Ain, II, p. 406.

191 Bangash lies south of Anangnihar tuman which is in the sarkar of Kabul. Bangash tuman consists of the upper reaches of Kurram river which rises from the Safed Koh mountains. The Bangash road must have been through the Kurram Valley. The pass of Kurram route is Paiwar, lying 25 miles (kms) north west of Kurram fort, at an elevation of 8,600 feet (meter). In fact, it has been an alternative route to Khaibar pass route. Holdich considers these two routes Khaibar and Kurram "as a twin system, with Kabul as the common objective." Holdich, Gates, p. 135. The Kurram pass, being the direct road between Bannu to Kabul and Ghazni, has been considered for centuries as one of the most important pass route across the Sulaiman mountains.

192 It is difficult to identify this road, as this was

Farmul,[193] the passes being also low (see Map 3.3).[194]

Passes on these roads were not very difficult to cross, as Paiwar is 8,600 feet (meter) high while Balai and Tochi passes are still lower. The importance of these passes declined with the conquest of Kabul and Hindustan by the Mughals. Of these passes, Paiwar was perhaps the most important pass and thus Bangash road was the most popular of the three roads mentioned. (See Map 3.4)

Apart from the above routes, Babar refers to some alternative routes through the Sulaiman range. When he was near the Bannu region and was planning to Ghazni.[195] Babar writes about these roads and mentions that "one was the Tunnel-rock (Sang-i-surakh) road,[196] passing Birk (Barak)

Cont'd... f.n. 192

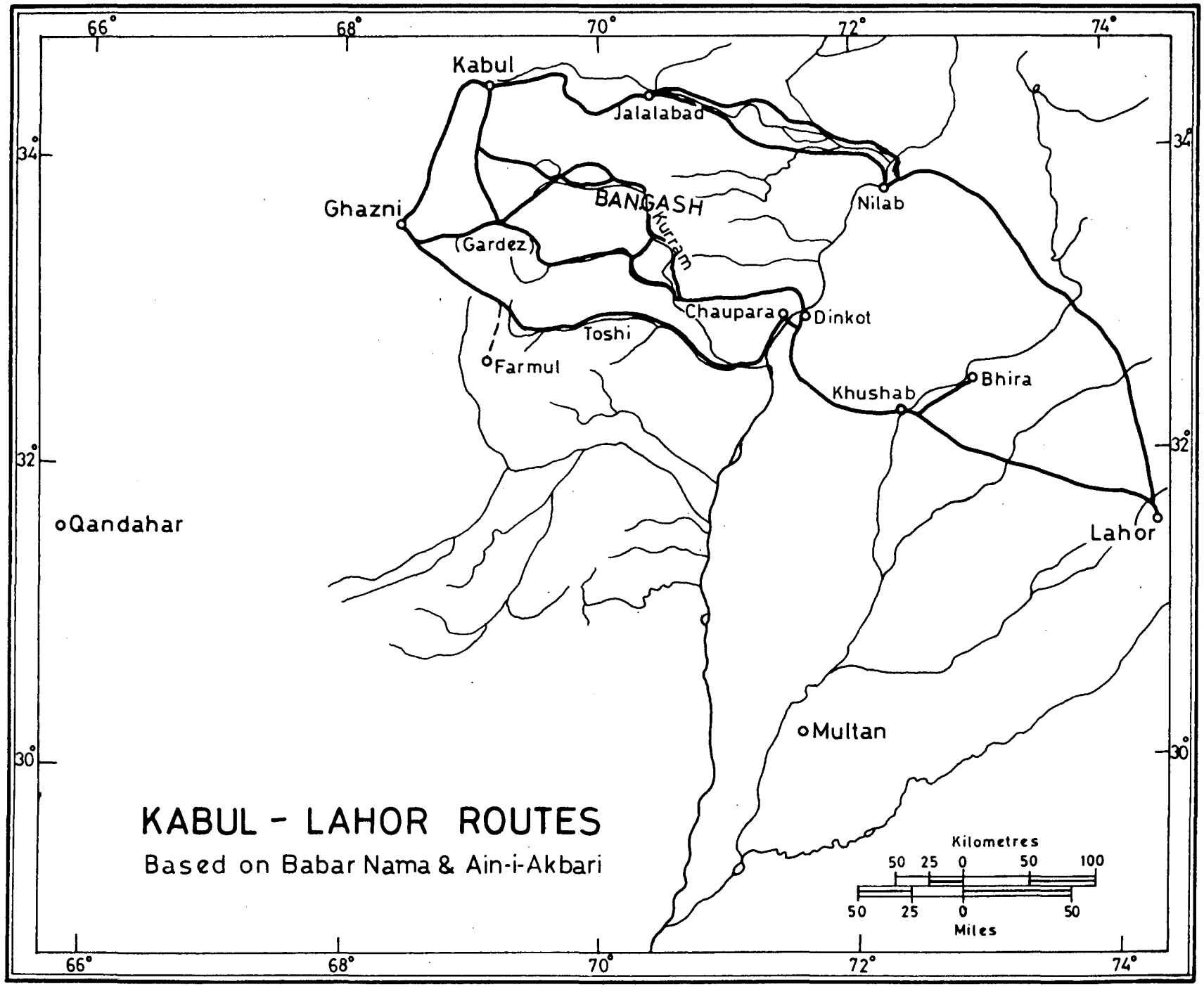
not a regular route for heavy traffic. In comparison with Bangash road it was little known. However, the Naghz road was through the pass of Spin Tangi (Batai Pass) east of Matum or Khost.

193 Farmul was the southern most tuman of sarkar of Kabul. Tochi, a tributary of Kurram river which rises from the hills of Farmul or Urgun provided a direct route from Bannu to Farmul. Tochi pass is located, west of Bannu where the plain ends. According to Holdich "the Tochi does not figure largely in history, but it has been utilized in the past for sudden raids from Ghazni in spite of the difficulties which nature has strewn about its head." Holdich, Gates, p. 136.

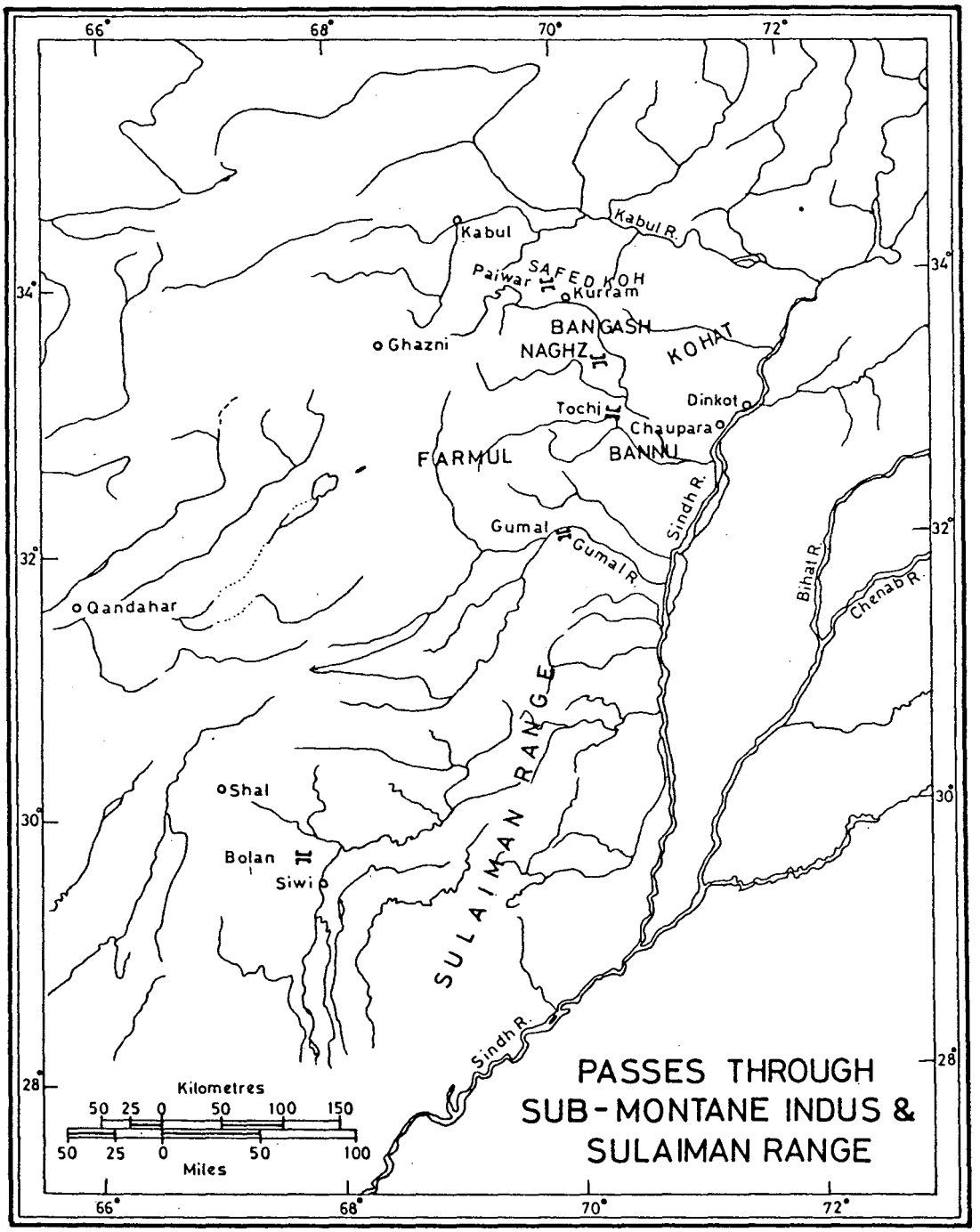
194 BN, p. 206.

195 Ibid., p. 235.

196 According to Beveridge if Birk means fastness than Kaniguram road may be identified as the Sang-i-Barakh road. According to Raverty this name is given to three or four 'darahs' on Dasht-Farmul road.


66°
68°
70°
72°
74°
34°
32°
30°
Kabul
Jalalabad
Ghazni
(Gardez)
BANGASH
Kurram
Nilab
Chauparo
Dinkot
Toshi
Farmul
Khushab
Bhira
Lahor
Qandahar
Multan
KABUL - LAHOR ROUTES
Based on Babar Nama & Ain-i-Akbari
Kilometres
50 25 0 50 100
50 25 0 50
Miles

Map 3.3


66°
68°
70°
72°
34°
32°
30°
28°
Kabul
Kabul R.
Paiwar
SAFED KOH
Kurram
BANGASH
NAGHZ
KOHAT
Ghazni
Tochi
Dinkot
Chaupara
FARMUL
BANNU
Sindh R.
Gumal
Gumal R.
Bihat R.
Chenab R.
Qandahar
SULAIMAN RANGE
Shal
Bolan
Siwi
Sindh R.
Kilometres
50 25 0 50 100 150
50 25 0 50 100
Miles
PASSES THROUGH
SUB-MONTANE INDUS &
SULAIMAN RANGE

Map 3.4

and going on to Farmul; the other was along the Gumal, which also comes out at Farmul but without touching Birk (Barak).[197] The Gomal route was not only important in comparison to the Surakh-i-Sang road but also in comparison to the Tochi route. The pass on the Gomal road is known as Ghwaliri pass. This pass is through a defile, with perpendicular walls 50 to 100 feet high and about 200 yards wide. This pass was used for several centuries as it was lying on the most important trade route between India and Ghazni. There is another pass on Gomal road. This pass is known as Sarwandi[198] and lies south of Kattawar plains.

In the region lying south of Gomal and north of Bolan, there are various routes of local importance. These routes, however, were through rugged and difficult terrain and were, therefore, not being used by large armies and caravans. There is a description of this region in Babar-Nama[199] But since Babar's knowledge of the region was poor, he could not follow any regular route to Ghazni. In fact as mentioned above, there is no pass of any consequence in this region.

197 In fact Gomal was the most convenient pass to reach Hindustan from Ghazni. Ghazni which lies between Kabul and Qandahar was the capital of Mahmud Ghaznavi and during his times Gomal pass was used very frequently. But it seems that with the decline of the Ghazni region and the city of Ghazni there was a set back to this pass route. As mentioned earlier, during the times of Babar, Ghazni was not an impressive town; BN, p. 235.

198 From Gomal (about 3000 feet (meter) high) there is a continuous ascent to the pass of Sarwandi (7500 feet-meter - high).

199 BN, pp. 235-39.

Certainly, the most important of the southern passes, joining Qandahar with Multan was the Bolan pass.[200] In fact, for the trade with Persia it was even more important than the Khaibar itself. It is strange to note, that there is no reference to the Bolan pass, by name, in any of the contemporary sources of the period. But there is no doubt that this pass, which lies between the territories of Shal and Sibi was being constantly used for several purposes. There are various references to the movement of Shah Beg, contemporary of Babar, from Qandahar to Sibi via Shal. The only direct route between Shal and Sibi is through Bolan pass. Masumi after describing the areas of Sibi and Gandeva mentions that the 'route to Qandahar is from the centre of this plain". This route is no other than the Bolan pass route. Humayun had also passed through the Bolan while proceeding to Persia from the Sind region.

3.2.1.4 Passes Through Peshawar Hills

Between Swat Hills and Sulaiman Ranges lies the Valley of Peshawar, surrounded by hills on three sides. There are few passes through these hills - providing possible line of communication between Peshawar and Kabul. Though Khaibar pass - road is the most direct and the most convenient between the cities mentioned, yet surprisingly it was only during the times of Babar that the Khaibar route came into prominance. In fact there is no clear reference to prove

200 The pass proper extends from Kolpur (known to the natives as Kharlakai Kotal) to Rindli, and is about

that this pass was used by any of the early invaders. Perhaps other alternative passes were being used before the development of the Khaibar as the main trade route during the times of Akbar.

It is doubtful whether in Alexander's time, with unbridged rivers, the Khaibar route would have been the easiest or even most direct[201] between Jalalabad and Charsadda. Thus, it is not correct to assume that the Khaibar was the only route connecting Peshawar and Kabul. It is however, reasonable to conjecture that prior to the Khaibar pass getting the status of the Imperial Highway much traffic might have passed through other passes located in the hills north of the pass.[202]

Yet with time Khaibar pass - road became the most important linkage between the Kabul region and Hindustan during the Mughal period. It played a dominant role in the political and socio-economic life of the Indian people. It

Cont'd... f.n. 200

> fifty-four miles long. It is the widest in the Lalejı plain on the south, whence it narrows to a gorge known as Afghan Pon-Zak.
>
> The Bolan pass is about 500 miles (800 kms) south of Khaibar pass. The opening is five miles north-west of the town of Dadar 742 feet above sea level and the route leads over the mountain chain', by a succession of narrow valleys and gorges. The crest of the Bolan pass is 580 feet above the sea and total length from Dadar is 60 miles. Since the ancient times, this pass has been the most used track connecting Qandahar region with the Punjab and Sind.

201 Caroe, p. 49.

202 Ibid.

was used not only by invaders and conquerers but also by traders and administrators. It helped in the development of close socio-economic ties between Hindustan and Kabul and regions beyond.

Babar passed through Khaibar[203] route a number of times.[204] Humayun fortified the fort of Jalalabad in 1552 in order to guard this pass. It was traversed by Humayun's army in his march to conquer Hindustan. However, it was during the times of Akbar that this pass-road became the "king's Highway". It was developed to the extent that it became passable even for wheeled traffic. The improvement of this pass road, gave new impetus to Indian trade. There are various references to Khaibar pass in the contemporary sources in relation to various socio-economic and political activities.

While discussing the distribution of tribes it has

203 The Khaibar pass begins at Jamrud, about ten miles (16 kms) from Peshawar. The total length of the pass upto Dakka is thirty-three miles (53 kms). At Jamrud, the hills close in on either side and the width of the pass is 450 feet (meter) with almost perpendicular sides. (The pass here has more the character of a valley than a ravine). During the British period many travellers passed through this pass road. There are various geographical factors which helped Khaibar route to remain as the most important route between India and Kabul (later Afghanistan). First it developed as the shortest route between the above mentioned places and could be traversed in two easy marches or in one day. The height of the pass (3500 feet) also played an important role in given it a special advantage - remains open throughout the year. Lastly water is available at regular distances.

204 BN, pp. 229, 382, 411-13.

already been mentioned that the Khaibar region gradually became a troubled area and at times, due to highway robbery, travelling was not safe. Akbar made every possible effort to keep these tribal activities in control so that the pass may remain safe for travellers, traders and administrators. Akbar not only tried to keep the Khaibar route safe but also tried to develop an alternative route i.e. the Karapa[205] pass-road.

Babar in his list of roads between Kabul and Hindustan does not mention Karapa pass-road. It is also confirmed by Abul Fazl that during the times of Babar this pass was not used.[206] This pass, however, was not a new discovery and had been under constant use prior to Babar. The pass begins at Peshawar, and, after traversing two defiles, leads to Jalalabad. Hephaistion, Alexander's general is said to have come through Karapa pass.[207]

3.2.1.5 Passes Through the Hills Surrounding the Kashmir Valley

The Valley of Kashmir is surrounded on all sides by

205 Karapa or Karappa, lies north of the Kabul river near Abkhana. Through this pass, Jalalabad may be reached from the valley of Peshawar (Samah) after traversing two defiles. During the British period also this pass-road was some times more secure than the Khaibar route. Holdich reports that Masson also mentions two other routes as being popular in those days i.e. those of Abkhana and Karapa, and he asserts that they were far more secure for traders than Khaibar, but "not so level nor so direct". Gates, p. 351.

206 Ain, II, p. 404.

207 Caroe, p. 49.

high mountains. All the writers and travellers who have written about this valley make a special mention of the impregnability of the surrounding mountains. Hieun Tsiang took special notice of the mountains enclosing the Kashmir Valley and refers to several passes through them. Most of these, according to him, were, however, "narrow and contracted."[208]

While writing about Kashmir, Alberuni refers to the fact that Kashmiris "are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country and, therefore, take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and routes leading into it."[209] Kalhana gives a mythological touch to the location of these mountains and refers to them in these words, "to protect, forsooth, the Nagas who came (to seek shelter) afraid of Garuda, it stretches all its arms high above in the guise of mountain - walls."[210]

Mirza Haider, Abul Fazl and Jahangir are unanimous in referring to the general impregnability of the surrounding mountain walls.[211] These mountain ramparts undoubtedly

208 Beal, Samuel, Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from Chinese of Hieun Tsiang (AD. 629), Delhi 1969, p. 148.

209 E.C. Sachau, Al-Beruni's India, (Delhi, 1964), p. 206.

210 Stein, M.A., Kalhana's Rajatarangini - A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, Delhi, 1961, Vol. I, First Book, p. 31.

211 TR, p. 430, 432; Ain, II, p. 351; TJ, II, p. 143.

increase the relative importance of the passes and of the river valleys which provided natural routes to territories outside Kashmir. However, these numerous passes were very difficult to traverse. During the times of Akbar, only two, Bhimbar and Pakli out of twenty-six roads to Hindustan, were "generally practicable on horseback."[212]

There are numerous mountain ranges around the valley of Kashmir and so on every road there are many passes, generally difficult to traverse. These passes on the major roads leading to Kashmir, will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. It should however be pointed out here that passes on the major routes i.e. Pir Panjal (Bhimbar) and Jhelum Gorge (Pakli),[213] were relatively easy to cross. The efforts which were being made to keep these routes practicable have been mentioned in section, on Roads (3.3.2).

Though, there are several passes, defiles and ravines on both the roads to Kashmir, few are worth mentioning. For instance, on the Pir Panjal route there were only two significant passes i.e. the Ratan Panjal[214] pass and the Pir Panjal pass[215] itself. Although, of these two the Ratan

212 Ain, II, p. 351.

213 Ibid.

214 Ratan Panjal Pass has an elevation of 8200 feet (meter) above sea level. The slope from the southern side to the summit is quite steep and the climb is difficult. There is hardly any depression in the ridge at the summit. From the summit of the pass, towards Baramgala, there is a descent of 1,700 feet (meter) in a distance of 2 miles (kms.).

215 The elevation of the summit of the pass is 11,400

Panjal pass is relatively lower but according to Abul Fazl it was "high as heaven".[216] The Pir Panjal pass, lying north of the Ratan Panjal, on the Pir Panjal range is higher (11,400 feet) and very difficult to traverse as the upper half of the valley remains covered with a thick sheet of snow. Abul Fazl describes the difficulties of the pass route in these words, "shall I describe the severity of the cold? Or shall I tell of the depth of the snow, and of the bewilderment of the nature of India? Or shall I describe the height and hollows of this stage."[217]

There are few quite dangerous, though not very high passes on the Pakli (Jhelum Gorge) route. Of these passes, according to both Abul Fazl and Jahangir, Kuarmast (Kuwarmat) was the most difficult on this route.[218] According to Jahangir Kuwarmat "is the last of the Kotals on the road."[219] The other important pass on this road is Bulias or Bhulbus.[220] This pass was also fairly arduous to traverse. In the words of Abul Fazl, "The road was almost unparalled for

Cont'd... f.n. 215

> feet (meter). It is reached from the western side by a steep, narrow, boulder-strewn path, cut in zig-zag from out of the mountain side. From the summit of the pass, which is comparatively level, with lofty walls of mountain masses on either side, is a gradual and easy descent over a grass-covered plateau, like a mountain meadow, hemmed in by walls of rock, a glen 5 miles long by half a mile in width.

216 AN, III, p. 822.

217 Ibid., p. 823.

218 Ibid., p. 848; T.J., II, p. 133. It is Kokaramast of Elphinstones map.

219 T.J., II, p. 133.

220 AN, II, p. 850; T.J., II, p. 131. It is Pelissa of

difficulty, narrowness and height and hallows."[221] Jahangir, while he was proceeding to Kashmir was also informed about the difficulties of the road. He was told, according to him that, "these hills were very narrow and difficult (to pass), and they could be crossed by a crowd of men only with great trouble."[222] The last important pass on this road was known as Pin daraug. Jahangir explains the name which literally means delay in cotton thus, "As the rulers of Kashmir had placed a superintendent there, who took duties from loads of cotton and delay takes place here for the collection of the duty.[223] It is said to be a "Kotal of great height, ascent being 1 Koss, and the descent 1 to ½ koss.[224]

Apart from these two well known roads to Kashmir from Delhi and Kabul there were two others. According to Tarikh-i-Rashidi, where Zafar Nama has been quoted, "the road leading to Khorsan is so difficult that it is impossible for beasts of burden with loads to be driven along it."[225] Mirza Haider also travelled through this road and found it

Cont'd... f.n. 220

the map. Stein calls it as Buliasa.

221 AN, III, p. 850.

222 T.J., II, p. 131.

223 Ibid., p. 128.

224 Ibid.

225 T.R., p. 432.

full of dangers.

The road, leading to Tibet has also been referred to by Mirza Haider in the Extract from the Zafar Nama. It is said to be "easier than these two (to Hindustan and Khurasan) but during several days one finds nothing but poisonous herbs which makes the transit inconvenient for travellers on horseback, since the horses perish."[226] Mirza Haidar, refers to these passes in these words: "... on the road to Kashmir there are many passes, which the Khan's strength will not allow him to cross."[227] One of these is the Zoji pass, through which Mirza passed.[228]

Mirza Haider refers to some other passes by name. Two passes on the Yarkand (So-Ch'e) and Kashmir road are referred to as Sanju[229] and Askardu.[230] Mirza Haider mentions that the journey between these two passes is of twenty days. Other important passes which were used by Mirza Haider but were not referred to by name are Karako-

226 T.R., p. 432.

227 Ibid., p. 421.

228 Ibid., p. 423.

229 Ibid., p. 405.

230 It is in fact Skardu pass in the Baltistan area. It is a Tibetan name. According to the editor of Tarikh-i-Rashidi the passes in that quarter "are now-a-days blocked by glaciers, and the road has become impracticable for travellers", p. 405, T.R., p. 405n.

rum,[231] Sasserand[232] and Suget.[233] Apart from all these passes, there were hundreds of other passes in the surrounding mountain ranges but which, during the period under study, remained of little consequence.

3.2.2 River Fords

Certainly fords were the earliest mode of crossing a river or stream. During the primitive stages of technological development, fords had to be sought to cross streams. Location of fords was a determining factor in the human movement in areas where streams or rivers were deep or wide. During the periods under study, location of fords on the major rivers must have played a determining role in deciding the nature and the extent of interaction between various communities.

The changes in the river courses of the Indus system have already been mentioned. Obviously these changes in the river courses, must have simultaneously changed the location of fords. These changes in their turn must have affected the existing routes in those regions, and like the political and economic factors, must have been responsible for the growth and decay of certain settlements during ancient and medieval periods.

231 T.R., p. 405n.

232 Ibid., p. 446n.

233 Ibid.

Though, carpentry and masonry were fairly developed in India during ancient and early medieval periods, bridges were scarce during the Mughal period. In the absence of bridges, possible ways of crossing rivers were boats, rafts and fords. Caravans, not having boats or rafts, usually crossed the rivers of Punjab and Sind through fords. Many of the fords were not 'permanent' as they could be used only during the dry seasons. Caravans reaching river banks during the floods were required to stop and wait for the rivers to calm down. The cart-drivers, well aware of the formidable streches would then take them safely through stony shallows.

Babar as well as Humayun, before they became rulers of India, usually forded the rivers of the Indus system. Regarding Indus river, Babar mentions that it is fordable above its confluence with Kabul river, but, only during the winter season. In the words of Babar "In winter, however, people ford the Sind-water"[234] above its junction with the

234 According to Beveridge, Indus ford was at Haru or Leech's Harroon, apparently, 10 miles above Attock. BN., p. 206. But Caroe mentions that this ford was close to the village Hund. Caroe asserts that Babar must have crossed the Indus by the "old and well-known ford close to the village of Hund, the only place it can be forded, and that only at low flood in winter time." The Pathans, p. 163. Regarding the name of ancient settlement of Hund (Ohind) there has been a considerable difference of opinion. According to Cunningham, Hieun Tsiang's U-to-kia-han-cha or Udakhanda "tallies exactly with the position of Ohind, on the north bank of Indus about 15 miles above Attock". Ancient India, p. 44. There is no reference to Attock in Babar Nama as it probably came into prominance during the time of Akbar when a ford and a bridge was constructed at this place. But the deve-

Kabul-water[235] and ford this also."[236] Babar must have forded the Indus above its confluence with the Kabul river near the village of Hund or Ohind. He mentions it clearly, "In most of my expeditions into Hindustan, I crossed those fords, but this last time (1525) when I came, defeated S.I. Ibrahim and conquered the country, I crossed by boat at Nilab. Except at one place mentioned above, the Sind-water can be crossed only by boats."[237]

Babar perhaps crossed Indus seven times during his life time. There are references to five of his expeditions to Hindustan in Babar Nama and several other sources of the period. In his first expedition to Hindustan, in 1505, Babar did not cross Indus due to certain unfavourable circumstances and returned through a circuitous route to Kabul. For the first time in 1519 he crossed the Indus through a ford, at Hund or Ohind above the junction of the Kabul and the Indus rivers. About the fording of the Indus, Babar mentions "Mr Muhammad the raftsman and his elder and younger brethren were sent with a few braves to examine the

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lopment of Attock, must seriously have affected its prosperity and its gradual decay. In any case, Ohind or Hund, was the place which Babar referred to.

235 Beveridge in a footnote writes "the text might be read to mean that both rivers were forded near their confluence, but finding no warrant for supposing the Kabul river fordable below Jalalabad, I have guided the translation accordingly. This may be wrong and may conceal a change in the river", B.N., p. 206, fn. 5.

236 BN, P. 206.

237 Ibid.

Sind-river (darya) about and below the ford."[238] He further writes "Next day[239]... the horses and baggage - camels crossed through the ford and camp - bazar and foot-soldiers were put over rafts ... at the Mid-day Prayer of this aame day ... every one had crossed."[240]

In his return journey, Babar reached the Indus and found that "a great raft of grain had stuck in the mud of that same ford, and do what its owners would, could not be made to move."[241] But the language of Babar Nama, thereafter, is confusing as Babar mentions that "Near noon we were a little below the meeting of the waters of Kabul and Sind, rather above old Nil-ab,[242] we dismounted there between two waters."[243] Possibly 'below' here means 'before'

238 BN, p. 378.

239 February 17, 1519, as mentioned earlier, Indus was fordable during this time (winter). During this expedition Babar reached Indus through the Sawati region (north of the Indus) so there was no question of his crossing the Kabul river.

240 BN, p. 378.

241 Ibid., p. 392.

242 Nil-ab, here refers to, ferry-station and not to the Indus river. There were two Nil-abs; the one referred to here lies in the north, and the other one shown in various maps, including Cunningham, lies south of Attock on the western bank of the Indus.

243 It shows, that Babar crossed the Indus river through the ford of Hund or Ohind and then dismounted between Kabul and the Indus rivers. But Beveridge tries to prove that Babar was still below the Attock and not above it as he mentions "Perhaps this aiki-su-arasi (miyan-du-ab) was the angle made by the Indus itself below Atack; perhaps one made by the Indus and an affluent" BN, p. 392, fn. 4. However, Babar possibly crossed the river at the ford as he had reached the

as subsequently he mentions that "From Nil-ab six boats were brought, and were apportioned to the right, left and centre who busied themselves energetically in crossing the river."[244] It is clear from the above references that Babar first crossed the Indus and then dismounted between the Kabul river by boat as it also was not fordable after Jalalabad. It had taken them more than three days to cross the river by these boats[245] which are said to have been six in number.

Unfortunately, our knowledge regarding Babar's third and fourth expeditions is very limited and hence it is not possible to determine the route of these expeditions. But Babar must have crossed the Indus through the fords in two of his expeditions, i.e., in 1520 and 1524, crossing it twice on both occasions. The fifth and the last time, when he used boats to cross the Indus he had a large number of people and animals.

The Kacha-Kot or Haru river, a small tributary of Indus, running in the east-west direction, was crossed by Babar on various occasion. During his second expedition to Hindustan, he forded the Kacha-kot[246] water but the name

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ford and there was no reason for him not to cross it, the water was still low (it was 21st of March) as indicated by the raft which was almost grounded; BN, p. 392

244 Beveridge is of the opinion that the river means the Indus but in all probability Babar was referring to the Kabul river; BN, p. 392.

245 BN, p. 392.

246 Ibid., p. 379.

of the ford is not given, probably the river was easily fordable. The river was forded by Babar in his return journey from Bhira, after more than a month.[347] There is a reference to this in Babar Nama in connection with the fifth and last expedition of Babar.[248]

Babar forded the Suhan river whenever he crossed the Indus to come to Hindustan. This tributary of the Indus is much bigger than the Kacha-kot and flows from the north to south-west. Babar forded the Suhan river first in 1512 both while going to Bhira[249] and on his return from there.[250] Since the names of the villages, near the fords were not given, it can be surmised that this river was also generally fordable. On the fifth expedition, when Babar took a more northernly route, he found the Suhan "a torrent, the waters of which were standing in pools. These pools were all frozen over. The ice was not very thick, as thick as the land may be."[251]

The Jhelum or Bihat, was forded by Babar and his men, each time they crossed the Indus. Babar conquered Bhira in

247 BN, p. 392.

248 Ibid., p. 452.

249 Ibid., p. 379.

250 Ibid., p. 391.

251 Ibid., p. 452. According to Beveridge "Presumably this was near Parhala, which stands, where the Suhan river quits the hills, at the eastern entrance of a wild and rocky gorge a mile in length. It must have been this gorge that Babar approached Parhala in 925." Fn. 2.

1519 and remained for one night on the right bank of the Bihat on the opposite side of Bhira, though his language suggests otherwise. "At the mid-day Prayer we dismounted on the east of Bhira, on the bank of the Bahat."[252] This was a misjudgement that Babar made. It is possible that he encamped on the western side of the Jhelum - north of Bhira instead of the east. Next day (February 22nd 1519) he visited Bhira.[253] Although there is no reference to fording of the Bihat, he, most probably, forded it. Interestingly, he refers to the Ford of Bihat only on occasions when it was unfordable. "On Sunday (February 27th) so much rain fell that water covered all the plain ... while at the ford near Bhira there was no footing for more than an arrow's flight, people crossing had to swim."[254] Any how, it is clear that during the winter season, Bihat near Bhira was fordable and they found a ford in the river, only two miles of it, next day.

Babar forded the Bihat, for the last time, on December 24th 1525, below Jhelum.[255] The same spot was selected during the period of Akbar and Jahangir, for the construction of boat-bridges on the Bihat, at the time of their journeys, a cross it. Babar might have forded Chinab also,

252 BN, p. 382.

253 Ibid., p. 383.

254 Ibid., p. 384.

255 Ibid., p. 453.

though there is no clear description of this. However, he encamped near Chinab.[256] Babar, forded the Ravi near Kalanur[257] and the Beas opposite Kanwahin.[258]

Humayun also forded most of these rivers, after his defeat against Sher Shah Suri. Obviously, he was moving in uncertain conditions and the only way to cross the rivers was by fords. He crossed the Sutlej river through a ford near Machiwara, though at that time it was full of water. Humayun, crossed the river at Machiwara ford while returning to India to conquer it. Jauhar mentions about the ford in these words, "the Afghans, being puffed up with pride and self-sufficiency, marked out a ford across the Sutlej, opposite to the town of Machwarah...."[259]

There are references to Humayun's crossing of other rivers, but no detailed account of their fords is available. Even the names of fords are not given. The only reference to the ford at Chenab near Bhira is given by Jauhar. "... King ordered an elephant to be swam across, and as soon as the elephant had entered he spurred on his own horse, and was followed by all the party now reduced to forty persons."[260]

256 BN, p. 453.

257 Ibid., p. 458.

258 Ibid.

259 Jauhar, p. 123.

260 Ibid.

On the basis of the above references, few observation can be made. Babar on all occasions, barring the final expedition to Hindustan, forded Indus through the traditional and ancient ford, near Ohind or Hind. Moreover, he made all his expeditions during the winter seasons. One can think of certain geographical reasons for this. Though this area is not a high rainfall area, but during the rainy season, travelling was difficult for larger groups in the Punjab plains. The Punjab rivers were thus fordable only during winter season. With his limited resources Babar had no other means of crossing the rivers but to ford them. Perhaps, high temperatures also prevented Babar to come to India in summers as his army-men were recruited from colder regions.

3.3 Technological Determinents of Regional Linkages

It has already been observed that physical factors have played a crucial role in determining the routes of communication and interaction not only within this region but also from out side it. The deterministic influence of the physical factors, over the actions of man was stronger during the ancient period than in the medieval times. The influence of these factors became less decisive with the technological attainments of the people. In fact the technological attainments of society, at any time, determine the role of the physical environment. It is therefore

necessary to know about the level of technology achieved by the people during the reign of the Early Mughals.

For the purposes of the present study it is not necessary to go into the details of all aspects of technological development of the period. An attempt is therefore being made here to study those aspects of prevalent technology which determined the level of trade and communication in the region. The most important technological determinents therefore, were the bridges, roads and means of transport because these must have influenced the flow of traffic on the possible routes. We shall, therefore, initially try to obtain information about the types of bridges and their location within North West India and subsequently, with the help of contemporary literature, we will attempt to ascertain the level of technology of road construction in order to understand the general conditions of highways and other important roads within this region. Lastly, an attempt will be made to assess the means of communication, their importance and extent of their use in the different parts of the region.

3.3.1 Bridges

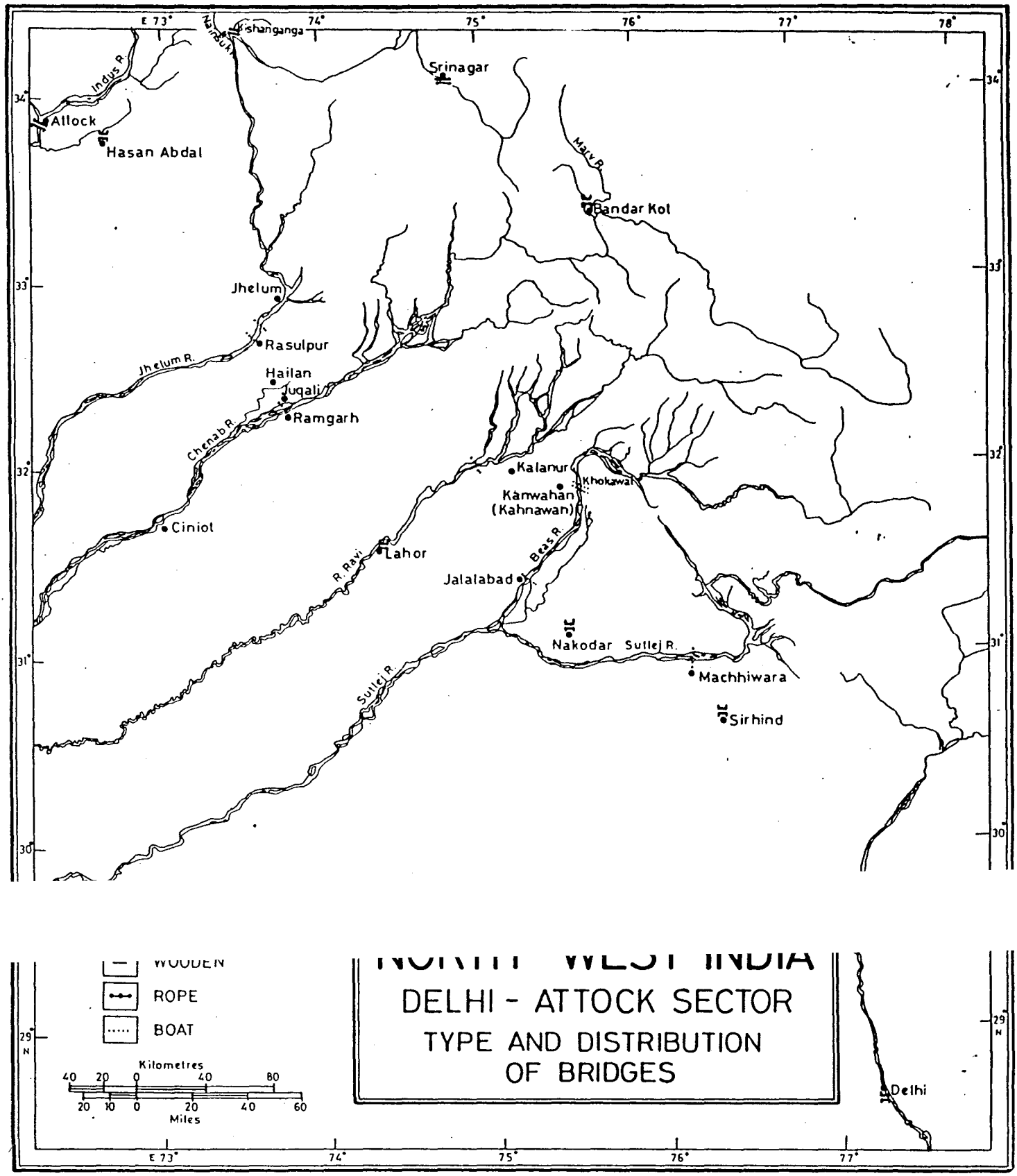
During the early Mughal period there were only a few permanent bridges on the rivers in the region under study. The probable reasons for this were mainly technological and strategic. Technological problems were obvious. With the given level of technological development, it was not

possible to construct permanent bridges over the major rivers of the region, in their lower reaches. In the upper courses of these rivers also bridges were constructed only at those places where they were considered beneficial, politically and economically. It seems, that due to strategic considerations in this region only few permanent bridges were constructed.

The permanent bridges, of any consequence, were constructed only after the consolidation of the Mughal empire by Akbar. There is no reference to any permanent bridge on the major rivers, either of the Indus system or of the plains, prior to Akbar's region. Earlier these rivers were being crossed through fords byferries or boat bridges. We have classified the region's bridges into two categories; permanent and temporary for a better understanding (see Map 3.5).

3.3.1.1 Permanent Bridges

As mentioned above in the contemporary literature of the pre-Mughal period there are few references to permanent bridges over the rivers of the region. With the development of suitable technology of bridge making, during the early Mughals, a lot of permanent bridges of various types were constructed. Construction of better roads was meaningless in Punjab without bridging the major rivers of the region. Hence with the construction and repair of roads,


E 73°
74°
75°
76°
77°
78°
34°
33°
32°
31°
30°
29° N
Kishanganga
Srinagar
Indus R.
Attock
Hasan Abdal
Mary R.
Bandar Kot
Jhelum
Rasulpur
Jhelum R.
Hailan
Juqali
Ramgarh
Chenab R.
Kalanur
Khokawal
Kanwahan
(Kahnawan)
Ciniot
Lahor
R. Ravi
Beas R.
Jalalabad
Nakodar
Sutlej R.
Machhiwara
Sirhind
Delhi
WOODEN
ROPE
BOAT
Kilometres
40 20 0 40 80
20 10 0 20 40 60
Miles
NORTH WEST INDIA
DELHI - ATTOCK SECTOR
TYPE AND DISTRIBUTION
OF BRIDGES

Map 3.5

Akbar and then Jahangir gave orders to construct bridges where ever they were considered necessary, possible and safe. Apart from the bridges constructed by the monarchs, there were also those built by the governors for administrative and strategic requirements. Even some bridges were constructed "by the merchants, officials and zamindars from philanthropic motives."[261]

The permanent bridges constructed during the pre-Mughal as well as the Mughal period in the different parts of the region were of various types. This regional variation in the type of bridges was mainly due to physical, economic and technological factors. For a better understanding of the distribution of permanent bridges it is necessary to divide them into three categories; stone bridges, wooden bridges and rope bridges.

Stone Bridges: Though references to stone bridges are not numerous in the sources consulted, but certainty stone bridge of small size existed. Monserrate who accompanied Akbar during his expedition to Kabul (1581) mentions of a stone bridge near Karnal[262] in Punjab. Another stone bridge was built during Akbar's reign near Nakodar under the supervision of Abul Fazl. Jahangir refers to this bridge and mentions that Akbar had given Shaikh Abul Fazl

261 A.K.M. Farooque, Roads and Communications in Mughal India, Delhi, 1977, p. 46.

262 Monserrate, p. 98.

gold of the weight of 20,000 rupees to build an embarkment between these two parganas and prepare a water fall."[263]

A bridge was constructed on Baba Hasan Abdal, in the fourth year of Jahangir's reign. Jahangir refers to this in these words "Five thousand rupees more of the money from my weighing were entrusted for the construction of a bridge at Baba Hasan Abdal and the building that is there."[264] There are references to the construction of some other bridges during the time of Jahangir but the material used in their construction is not known.

As mentioned earlier, there were other bridges, built by governors, merchants and local zamindars on their own initiatives. "There were many bridges of stone in and around both Delhi and Agra. The Athpula bridge, Khairpur Ka pul, east of Sikandar Lodi's tomb, was built by Nawab Bahadur, one of Akbar's nobles."[265] There are reference to a stone bridge over a branch of Jamuna to provide access to the tomb of Humayun in Delhi. William Finch, who travelled India during the reign of Jahangir refers to this bridge in these words. "A little short is a stone bridge of eleven arches over a branch of Gemini (the Jamuna); from thence a broad way shaded with great trees leading to the

263 T.J., I, p. 135.

264 Ibid., p. 160.

265 A.K.M. Farooque, p. 46.

sepulchre of Humaron (Humayun)."[266] De Laet also refers to this bridge more or less in the same way as he mentions "Not far from these ruins a branch of the river Jemini or Gemena is crossed by a stone bridge from which a broad avenue thickly shaded by tall trees, leads to the tomb of Hamaunis".[267] William Finch, on his way to Lahore from Agra, found a bridge near Sirhind and mentions "Syrinaur (Sirhind) 7 C; it hath a fair tank with a summer house in the middest to which leads a bridge of fifteen stone arches...."[268] De Laet also noticed the beauty of this spot and mentions "This city (Sirhind) has a beautiful tank, in the middle of which is a temple approached by a stone bridge of 15 arches..."[269]

In Lahore, a strong bridge was built by Bayazid Biyat, the author of Tarikh-i-Humayun Wa Akbar in 1590.[270] In Kashmir, Jahangir saw various bridges of stone and wood, as he mentions "There have been built in the city four very strong stone and wooden bridges, over which people come and go. They call a bridge in the language of this country

266 William Foster, Early Travels in India (1583-1619), London, 1921, p. 156.

267 De Laet, The Empire of the Great Mogal, Delhi, 1975, pp. 47-8.

268 Foster, Early Travels, p. 158.

269 De Laet, pp. 49-50.

270 Bayazid Biyat, Tarikh-i-Humayun Wa Akbar, Calcutta, 1941, pp. 374-75.

Kadal."[271]

Possibly there were many more stone bridges in this region for which there is no record. Though we are not directly concerned with the bridges of eastern and southern regions, but construction of the stone bridges in these regions proves that technology of bridge making was fairly advanced during that period. De Laet refers to a bridge on Gumti near Jaunpur.[272] This bridge was built by Munim Khan Khan Khannan, who completed it in 1567. The bridge which blends art and utility marvellously, still stands today in all its glory and grandeur.[273]

On the basis of the distribution pattern of the stone bridges, a few observation may be made. Nearly all the stone bridges were either built in the gardens, on small streams or were constructed near historical monuments, like Sikander Lodi's tomb or Humayun's tomb. Though the technology of bridge making was fairly developed still it was not possible to construct stone bridges on major streams of considerate width. Consequently, there was no stone bridge on any of the major rivers of Punjab or Sind. Moreover, not a single stone-bridge was helpful to the travellers in the region as they were not located on the major routes. It may, therefore, be surmised that they were meant for

271 T.J., II, p. 142.

272 De Laet, p. 65.

273 A.K.M. Farooque, pp. 50-51.

beauty rather than utility.

Wooden Bridges: There are various references to permanent wooden bridges in the contemporary sources and in the accounts of travellers of the period. Monserrate while going to Kabul with Akbar in 1581, saw a wooden bridge being built over the Sutlej[274] (in Machivara, Ludhiana district) and noticed several others across the Beas (Dungarri), the Ravi (Kalanaur) and near Sodhra.[275]

During his march to Kabul in 1581 Akbar gave orders to construct a bridge near Attock on Indus. Abul Fazl mentions this in the following words, "He encamped at the place where the Indus and the Kabul river meet. He left the main camp with an immense quantity of baggage on the banks of the Indus, and gave the command of that spot to Qasim K. in order that he might, subdue the refractory spirits there and construct a bridge."[276] Akbar received the news of the completion of this "excellent bridge over the great and turbulent river Indus"[277] when he was near

274 Monserrate, p. 103.

275 Monserrate, pp. 104, 108 and 110.

276 AN, III, p. 523. Farooque, perhaps could not follow the language as he writes "On the same march Akbar ordered the building of a bridge over the Indus and Kabul rivers". This bridge was not constructed over the Indus and the Kabul rivers, but was built on the Indus, below its confluence with Kabul.

277 AN, III, p. 545.

Bigram. Akbar crossed the Indus through this newly constructed bridge, on his return journey from Kabul.[278]

On two more occasions, Akbar crossed the Indus by this bridge in 1589. Once while going to Kabul from Kashmir[279] and again on his return journey from Kabul[280] while going towards Lahor. But when Jahangir was going to Kabul he did not find this bridge though he found that "The water of the Nilab (Indus) was low."[281] A bridge of eighteen boats was made to cross the river.[282] So either the bridge, which was constructed by Qasim K. was weak and did not survive till 1607 the year Jahangir went to Kabul or it was a semi permanent bridge.

There is one more reference to this bridge on Indus as Abul Fazl mentions that "Qasim K. was sent on to look after the bridging of the Indus."[283] This bridge was, however, as good as a permanent wooden bridge. The wooden bridges of Kashmir have been referred to by Abul Fazl and Jahangir. Abul Fazl mentions that Akbar, while going to Kabul from Kashmir crossed the Kishan Ganga by a bridge.[284]

278 AN, III, p. 545.

279 Ibid., III, p. 855.

280 Ibid., p. 867.

281 T.J., I, p. 101.

282 Ibid.

283 AN, III, p. 851.

284 Ibid.

This bridge on the Kishan Ganga was also found by Jahangir, while he was going to Kashmir. He mentions "There was an old bridge over this river, 54 yards long and 1½ yards wide which footmen crossed by."[285] Jahangir must have found it in bad shape or too narrow for this purpose, so he gave orders for the preparation of a parallel bridge 53 yards long and 3 yards broad.[286] It is not clear about these bridges on the Kishan Ganga, whether they were of stones or of wood. Possibly the bridge which was used by Akbar, 32 years ago, had stone pillars since it lasted for so long.

Close to the Kishan Ganga, on the Nain Sukh (Kunar) river there were two small bridges when Jahangir crossed it. Jahangir writes "As at this place it forms two branches, they had according to orders prepared two wooden bridges for the crossing of the victorious army, one 18 cubits[287] and the other 14 cubits in length, with a breadth each of 5 cubits."[288] Fortunately Jahangir throws some light on the technique of bridge making of the region. He writes, "The way in which they make bridges in this country is to throw pine-trees on the surface of the water and fasten the two ends strongly to rock, and having thrown on these, thick planks of woods, make them firm with pegs and ropes, and

285 T.J., II, p. 128.

286 Ibid.

287 One cubit is equal to the length of the arm from the elbow to the top of the middle finger from 18 to 22 inches.

288 T.J., II, p. 127.

these, with a little repair, last for years."[289] Obviously this technique of bridge making was not suitable for the broad rivers in the plains[290] such as the Punjab rivers. Apart from these bridges, as mentioned earlier, Jahangir also saw wooden bridges in Srinagar.

Unlike stone bridges, wooden bridges were far more useful for the travellers, as they were constructed on fairly important rivers like the Indus, the Kishan Ganga and the Nain Sukh etc. However, all these bridges were constructed on rivers in the hilly regions, where rivers were not broad and were located at places where the terrain was stony, river crosses were more or less permanent and water was swift but not deep.

Rope Bridges: There were rope bridges in Kashmir, and probably also in the other hilly areas of the region. Jahangir, though refers to only one bridge of this kind in the Kishtwar region at Bhandarkot,[291] but certainly there must have been other rope bridges in Kashmir and elsewhere. These bridges according to Jahangir were used in those areas where crossing the river was difficult, and hence, "with a view to coming and going of people on foot, they attach strong ropes and place planks of the width of a cubit between two

289 T.J., II, pp. 127-28.

290 Ibid., p. 137.

291 Ibid.

ropes and fasten one rope's end to the top of the hilly and the other on the other side of the water."[292] He further writes that, "they attach two other ropes agaz higher than those, that foot passengers may place their feet on the planks and taking hold of the upper ropes, may descend from the top of the hill to the bottom, and so cross the river. This bridge they call zampa, in the language of the people of the hilly country."[293] Jahangir also found rope bridge on the rivers Maru and Chenab.

It is clear from the above descriptions that rope bridges were not meant for any other use but to carry foot-passengers. Obviously, the use of these bridges was restricted to that hilly terrain where any other type of travelling was not possible as the movement through these bridges was not only time consuming but also dangerous.

3.3.1.2 Temporary Bridges (Pontoons)

Since permanent bridging of the major rivers of the region was not possible, as discussed in the previous section, the early Mughals used to cross these rivers by fords or ferries. However, after they consolidated their empire they started making temporary bridges or boat bridges, on the rivers of the Punjab. There are many references to these boat bridges or Pontoons in the contemporary sources.

292 T.J., II, p. 137.

293 Ibid.

Babar was really impressed by the skill of bridge making of Mir Muhummad, the raftman who built the first-boat bridge over the Ganges, near Qanuj. He refers to the bridge in these words "Some of the braves went up and down the river and took boats by force (for the bridge), bringing in 30 or 40 large and small Mir Muhammad the raftsman was sent to find a place convenient for making a bridge and to collect requisites for making it."[294] This bridge took nearly fourteen days for completion, may be due to the absence of required material for construction, lack of skill and above all the battle, which was going on near the place where the bridge was being made. However, after the completion of the bridge Mir Muhammad "was awarded for the excellent bridge he made over the river."[295]

Humayun is said to have introduced various innovations in the technique of constructing boat-bridges, including a movable bridge made of several boats joined together, with iron nails.[296] This bridge could easily be broken down into its components, its boats could be put to their ordinary use and then reassembled when required. Camels and horses, as well as men, were able to cross rivers on such bridges.[297]

The technique of bridging the rivers with boats deve-

294 BN, p. 599.

295 Ibid., pp. 632-3.

296 A.K.M. Farooque, p. 41.

297 Khwandmir, Qanun-i-Humayuni, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 63-9.

loped significantly during the period of Akbar. Mughal engineers were so good in making pontoon bridges that they bridged Ganges near Manikpur in 1566, only in one day when Akbar was going from Jaunpur to Agra.[298] It seems that the sight of an army passing through the boat-bridge was a fascinating one, as Abul Fazl, praises Akbar for the arrangements and the systematic crossing of the Chenab by a boat bridge near Ciniot in 1579. According to Abul Fazl, "How could so numerous an army have marched if he had not been there to guide it ... Or shall I describe the completion of the bridge and the adornment (ain) of the boats?"[299]

Not only Abul Fazl, but Monserrate also was very impressed by the technique of bridge making of the Mughal engineers as he mentions in his travel account, "The king over came the difficulty and danger of constructing bridges; for if these are built over a broad river-bed they are apt to be swept away by the force of the current, and hence to bring disaster upon an army crossing them."[300] After discussing the possible dangers of crossing the river through boat-bridges he further describes the technique of boat-bridge making in these words, "It is the custom in India to make temporary bridges of boats, which are tied together only by grass ropes. Over these boats is laid a road way made of branches of trees, bushes and hay."[301]

298 AN, II, p. 399.

299 Ibid., III, p. 341.

300 Monserrate, p. 81.

301 Ibid.

Like Abul Fazl, Monserrate also praises Akbar for the disciplined and successful crossing of the river through boat bridge by his army. Monserrate describes it in these words, "The king however, gave orders that care should be taken to see that only one type of troops or transport should approach the bridge at a time; and that the cavallry, the infantry, the camels, the other baggage animals, the blocks and herds, should pass over both separately and in single fill, so that if a bridge parted, the river should take no great toll of men or supplies."[302] To cheque the crowding Monserrate further writes "a small block-house was set up and occupied by the Kings officers,[303] who took care that a large number should not carelessly crowd the bridge at one and the same time, and so sink the boats."[304]

There are numerous references to the construction of boat-bridges, over various rivers of the Indus system, in Punjab at the time of Akbar's visits to those areas. In 1578, when Akbar visited Punjab various rivers were crossed by these bridges. The Sutlej was crossed by a bridge made in the neighbourhood of the Lakhi Qiyampur.[305] Bridges were

302 Monserrate, p. 81.

303 Bernier, a hundred years after Monserrate, saw a boat bridge constructed in much the same way. He deemed its builders tolerably skilled and the bridge useful, but did not find the army as well organised as discribed by Monserrate, Bunier, p. 380.

304 Monserrate, p. 81.

305 AN, III, p. 335.

also made over the Ravi at Khanpur[306] over the chenals near Ciniot.[307] Akbar went for hunting and crossed the Bihat, but without any bridge as the army remained on the other side of the river. When Akbar was returning from Punjab, bridges were made over the Chenab near the town of Kah ur,[308] over the Ravi near Kalanur,[309] and, over the Beas near Khokhrowal.[310]

The rivers of Punjab were crossed by the boat-bridges during Akbar's expedition to Kabul in 1581. Boat bridges were made over the Sutlej at Maciwara,[311] over the Beas between Khokowal and Kanwahan,[312] over the Ravi at Kalanur,[313] over the Bihat between Jhelum ferry and Rasulpur.[314] It has already been mentioned that due to the vagueness of language, it is rather difficult to ascertain the type of bridge made over the Indus, but certainly, it was not a temporary boat bridge. While returning from Kabul all these rivers were crossed over by a boat bridge, except the Ravi- which was

306 AN, III, p. 337.

307 Ibid., p. 341.

308 Ibid.

309 Ibid.

310 Ibid.

311 Ibid., p. 509.

312 Ibid., p. 511.

313 Ibid., p. 513.

314 Ibid.

fordable at that time.[315] The bridge was constructed over the Bihat at Rasulpur.[316] Akbar crossed the Chenab by a bridge in the neighbourhood of Hailan at the ferry of Jugali.[317] The Beas[318] was also crossed by a bridge and so was the Sutlej.[319]

The boat bridges are again referred to in the account of Akbar's expedition to Punjab in 1585. The Sutlej was crossed by a bridge at Maciwara.[320] A bridge was made over the Beas at Jalalabad[321] and the army crossed the river. The Chenab was crossed over by a bridge in the territory of Parsarur (Pasrur). The Bihat was also crossed by a bridge but the side of the bridge has not been mentioned by Abul Fazl.[322] Akbar spent three months and twelve days in Attock-Benaras but did not cross the Indus. On his return journey, however, he crossed the Jhelum by a bridge[323] and also Chenab at "Shop-keepers' ferry near Kanja by a bridge[324] while re-

315 AN, III, p. 546. It is interesting to note that the Ravi was fordable during the last quarter of the year.

316 AN, III, p. 545.

317 Ibid., pp. 545-6.

318 Ibid., p. 546.

319 Ibid.

320 Ibid., p. 706.

321 Ibid.

322 Ibid., p. 708.

323 Ibid.

324 Ibid., p. 744.

turning from Kabul, in 1589 Akbar's army crossed the Jhelum and the Chinab by boat-bridge near Rasulpur[325] and Banikabin.[326]

Unlike Akbar Nama, there is no reference to boat bridges in Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, possibly due to the fact that at that time they became very common. However, due to technological constraints these boat-bridges remained the most popular way of crossing these mighty rivers otherwise difficult to bridge during this period.

3.3.2 Roads

There is hardly any information available regarding the technology of road construction in Medieval India. Possibly, there were only few metalled roads so it is likely that the chroniclers and travellers did not give any attention to the technology involved in their construction. The building of highways was, however, an arduous task during this period since road technology was not much developed.

Very little is known about the road making methods in India during the Sultanate period. Though there are many references to the cutting of forests, the making of new roads, clearing the roads of robbers and rebels, but these references to administrative measures throw little light on road making techniques. Since references to building acti-

325 AN, III, p. 869.

326 Ibid., p. 870.

vities and to the public works departments are frequent, it is reasonable to assume that methods similar to those of the ancient period were being used. Some cities and towns could well have paved streets.[327]

The road-building and other similar activities were more planned and supervised by a public works department under the Mughals. Whenever the emperor started on a journey, compaign or hunt, hundreds of sappers and labourers would be sent in advance to repair and improve the roads. In case of mountainous terrain, these people had to work very hard to level the road, clear the obstruction and make the way fit for the royal march. Monserrate was impressed by the work of the organisation responsible for the construction of roads and bridges, under the charge of Muhammad Qasim Khan Mir Bahr. Qasim Khan was initially sent to level the road upto the Indus[328] from Rohtas. Then he was given a more difficult job "to make the Khaiber and the road to Kabul passable for carriages. In a short time he accomplished this."[329]

Important roads and highways may have been well maintained but lesser routes were repaired only before the march of the emperor. This obviously made the work of the advance party ardous and difficult. As the emperors did not always follow well known routes, new roads and routes were built and connected to existing roads.

327 A.K.M. Farooque, p. 21.

328 AN, III, p. 709.

329 Ibid.

North-western India, the region under study, is generally hilly. The terrain in the mountanious regions is very rugged. Mughal technicians and road builders did their best to over come these physical obstructions, but in the absence of a scientific knowledge of road building, of proper material and tools, their methods changed little from the times of the Delhi Sultans or even of an earlier period.

As mentioned earlier, the information on the road building techniques used by the early Mughals is almost non-existant. However, some idea about the road building activity and the techniques used in this period may be formed from the descriptions of the marches of the kings in different parts of the region. For instance, Kashmir which was a favorite summer resort of the Mughals had many roads, but they were all difficult to travel. The Pir Panjal route, perhaps the easiest, was travelled by Akbar twice.[330] On his first visit, in 1589, "three thousand stone cutters, mountain miners and splitters of rocks, and 2000 beldars (diggers) were sent off under Qasim Khan. That they might level ups and downs of the road."[331]

Although the work done by the men of Qasim Khan was highly appreciated, still the route was not easy to travel and Akbar felt the difficulty of the road. Abul Fazl mentions that "as the ladies were sent for... an order was issued that the officers who were in attendance on H.M. should sta-

330 Ain, II, p. 352.

331 AN, III, p. 817.

tion experienced men at each stage and that every stage between Bhimbhar and Hirpur should be assigned to one of the officers, so that tents, fuel forage and food should be in readiness and that the ladies should not suffer any inconvenience."[332]

The Pir Panjal route, though very important during the times of Akbar and Jahangir, dateriorated in its condition due to lack of proper and constant maintenance. Hence when Jahangir planned a visit to Kashmir, he "sent off Nuru-d-din Quli to hasten on before, to repair as far as possible the ups and downs of Punch route to it, and prepare it, so that the passage of ladden beasts over difficult hilltops might be accomplished with ease, and that the men should not undergo labour and hardship."[333] Like Akbar, Jahangir also despatched a "Large number of artificers, such as stone-cutters carpenters, spadesmen etc,"[334] to make the road usable.

Though, Jahangir was informed by Nuru-d-din Quli that "he had repaired the Punch road, and levelled the defiles as far as possible"[335] the King could not use the route as the "snow fell for some days and nights, and lay on the Kotals to the depth of three cubits."[336] Instead of the Pir Panjal

332 AN, III, pp. 823-24.

333 T.J., II, pp. 97-8.

334 Ibid., p. 98.

335 Ibid., p. 121.

336 Ibid.

route, Jahangir travelled through Pakli or Jhelum gorge route which was free from snow. He travelled through this route in his return journey and gave orders "that from Kashmir to the end of the hilly country building should be erected at each stage"[337] for the accommodation of the king and the ladies.

There are also references to the repair work done on the Pakli road, which was one of the most important gateways to Kashmir. This route was used both by Akbar and Jahangir. Abul Fazl mentions that, "Hashim Khan the son of Qasim Khan, was sent off to put to right the Paki road, as H.M. intended to return by that way. Many stone-breakers and diggers accompanied him."[338] This route was difficult, though it was low lying and generally free from snow.

These scanty references about road making and repairing give us a vague idea about the prevalent techniques of road building in difficult mountainous terrains. In fact we have seen that thousands of labourers, stone and wood cutters, mountain miners and splitters of rocks and diggers were employed to clear the roads and to make them fit for the imperial travel. The Mughals had the knowledge of explosive which they used in many sieges and campaigns which perhaps a small opening, path, or road was blasted out. But there is no reference to such measures for the construction and levelling of the roads. Perhaps explosives were used only for military

337 T.J., II, p. 178.

338 AN, III, p. 835.

purposes and not generally for road building. "The tree covered areas, wood-cutter cleared the live of road, while sappers and stone-cutters cleared stony ground. Probably some sort of rammer was used to level off the surface."[339]

There is no reference to any systematic survey by the public works department in the areas, where the road construction was proposed. But the minute details with which these routes have been described by Abul Fazl and Jahangir prompt us to assume that records of surveys and land measurements, made before or during the imperial tour or campaigns, were utilized by the public works departments on such occasions.

3.3.3 Means of Transport

Travelling, during the period under study, was a difficult task due to the absence of good roads, bridged rivers and to the paucity of developed means of transport. In fact means of transport played a very significant role in determining the extent and volume of traffic on land. Human carriers, beasts of burden and wheeled traffic were the most prevalent means of transport both for short as well as long distance land travel. Water transport facilities were provided by boats on the rivers and small sailing ships in the coastal regions.

3.3.3.1 Means of Land Transport

The technology of manufacturing of vehicles was obviously

339 A.K.M. Farooque, p. 30.

less developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as compared to modern times. Carts could be used in a level country, but due to unbridged rivers and mountainous terrain, bulk of the heavy traffic was moved by means of pack animals. Elephants, camels, horses, bullocks, bullock-carts, mules and litters were the usual means of land transportation during the period under study.[340]

The use of elephants as a means of conveyance was reserved for the sovereign or for those who were granted his permission to do so. Moreover, the purchase and the maintenance of elephants was a costly affair as the price of an elephant varied from, "a lakh to one hundred rupees."[341] But elephants worth five thousand and ten thousand rupees were also pretty common.[342] The Mughals used them on all their tours and campaigns. The ladies of the imperial household were carried in a crossed litter, called imari which was set on an elephant back. Imari had the facilities of a small coach and resembled either a small house, or a woodden tower and was spacious enough to sleep in with comfort. Akbar is said to have invented a large cart, which was drawn by one elephant. It was spatious enough to hold several bath rooms, and thus serve as a travelling bath.[343] But historians subsequent to Abul

340 H.K. Naqvi, p. 71.

341 Ain, I, p. 124.

342 Ibid., p. 125.

343 Ibid., p. 285.

Fazl do not mention this cart.[344]

Camels were used both for personal conveyance and transportation of goods. There are several stray references in the contemporary literature to camels being employed for personal transport specially where the travellers were pressed for time because Jammuaza, the she-camel, excels in swiftness of speed.[345] Camels used as a beast of burden could carry ten maunds of weight on an average. They also bore imaris and mihafs,[346] a type of litter much resembling the imari. Camels were, of course, also used in the desert areas, as they can endure great hardship and live without water for a long time.[347] According to Abul Fazl the swiftest camels were those of Ajmer. The best for carrying burden were bred in Thatta.[348]

The use of horses appears to have been far more common in journeys undertaken by individuals. The horses were being used by the nobility as well as by common people in their journeys. These horses were imported in large numbers. According to Ain, "Merchants bring to court good horses from

344 A.K.M. Farooque, p. 109.

345 H.K. Naqvi, p. 71.

346 AK.M. Farooque, p. 110.

347 Abul Fazl provides a detail account of camels, their stables, food, hayess, ranks etc. and mentions that camels were numerous in Rajasthan area. Regarding Sind he says that camels are "abumance; many inhabitants own ten thousand camels and upward."

348 Ain, I, p. 151.

Iraq-i-Arab and Iraq-i-Ajam, from Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshan, Sherwan, Qirghiz, Tibet, Kashmir and other countries.[349] There were twelve thousand horses in Akbar's stable.[350] Among those bred in India the horses from Cutch were the best and could be compared to those obtained from Arabia.[351] The price of different type of horses varied from 500 muhur to 2 rupees.[352]

The cavalry was the most important part of the Mughal army, so encouragement was given to horse dealers by establishing sarais for them and for the horses.[353] Horses were also used for the postal service. According to Abul Fazl, some of the horses were able to cover a distance of 50 to 100 Kroh (Kos) in a day.[354] Horses were also at times harnessed in wheeled carriages called ghur bahal, but they were "not much in vogue except in Gujarat."[355]

Mules and asses were cheaper than horses and were more suitable to carry goods. According to Abul Fazl "The Mule possesses the strength of a horse and the patience of an ass... It never forgets the road which it has once travelled."[356] Further referring to the utility of mules he writes

349 Ain, I, p. 140.

350 Ibid.

351 Ibid.

352 Ibid., p. 150.

353 Ibid., p. 141.

354 Ibid., p. 146.

355 H.K. Naqvi, p. 72.

356 Ain, I, p. 160.

that, "It is the best animal for carrying burdens and travelling over uneven ground, and it has a very soft step."[357] In the mountainous regions of north-west India, Mules were frequently used."[358] Mules were chiefly imported from Iraq-i-Arab and Iraq-i-Ajam.[359] In India they were only bred in Pakli, and its neighbourhood.[360] Superior mules were often sold at Rs. 1,000 per head.[361] Asses were used for carrying burdens and fetching water.[362]

Bullocks, however, were by far the most convenient and important means of transport during the period under study. They were much suited to carry heavy load or drive wheeled carriages. By virtue of their adaptability to long distances travel over paved, unpaved or uneven roads, and, also due to their numerical strength throughout the country, they may be graded higher than other animals as a beast of burden and means of transport during the early Mughal period.

Bullocks were also used as pack animals because they could carry, on an average, four maunds of weight.[363] They

357 Ain, I, p. 160.

358 Jauhar, pp. 62, 69.

359 Ain, I, p. 161.

360 Ibid., p. 160.

361 Ibid., p. 161.

362 Ibid., p. 162.

363 H.K. Naqvi, p. 73.

were also used for riding. The grain sellers, known as banjaras used the bullocks extensively. Some of them owned about 1,000 bullocks each. These banjaras supplied grains and provisions to marching armies. Banjaras were given encouragement and money by Jahangir to accompany the imperial army to Qandahar with provisions.[364]

Though cattle of various kind was found throughout the country but Gujarati bullocks were best.[365] They are reported to have travelled 80 Kos (120 miles) in 24 hours, and surpassed even swift horses.[366] Oxen were used for travel in rough country, both on account of pebbles and because of the heat.[367] Ox driven wagons were often employed for conveying goods. These were of various sizes. In the larger ones more than a pair of bullocks were harnessed; those with three pairs had a capacity of forty-four maunds, but there were still larger varieties which could carry as many as eighty-one maunds of weight.[368] Palkis or Palanquins though mainly used for ladies were also occassionally used by old and infirm men. These were carried on the shoulders of four bearers, generally called Kahars, but during long journeys it must have been a common sight to see large number of Kahars

364 T.J., II, p. 233.

365 Ain, I, p. 157.

366 Ibid.

367 Foster, Early Travels, p. 104.

368 H.K. Naqvi, p. 74.

waiting for their turn. Larger palkis were carried by six or eight kahars, while the smaller ones, known as adis, were carried by just two men. The kahars or palki bearers, according to Abul Fazl, "Form a class of foot servants peculiar to India with their, palki, singhasans, chandols, and dulis, they walk, so evenly that the man inside is not inconvenienced by any jolting.... At court, several thousands of them are kept."[369]

With the help of this general description of the means of land transport, it is not difficult to surmise that in different areas within this region, different means of transport might have been used by different sections of society according to their needs and capacity. However, with the given level of technological development, the means of transport were not suitable to overcome physical constraints of the region and thus land transport was generally difficult and cumbersome.

3.3.3.2 Means of Water Transport

In the absence of matalled roads during the period under study, it was difficult in rainy season for wheeled carts, animals or even pedestrains to move. Although roads were not completely impassable but the journeys were difficult and slow. So during monsoon seasons, when roads and routes were inundated or even washed away travel by boats

369 Ain, I, p. 264.

along the rivers was the only convenient means of transport.

The Mughal navy was not strong, but they had a well organised admiralty in the times of Akbar. About the utility of admiralty Abul Fazl writes, "This department is of great use for the successful operation of the army, and for the benefit of the country in general, it furnishes means of obtaining things of value."[370] Akbar, tried to improve the water transport by improving harbours and appointing experienced men as harbour-masters. Sea men, too were selected according to their ability and experience.[371]

Along the coasts of the ocean, large ships were built, which were suitable for voyages. Large ships were also built at Allahabad and Lahore[372] from where they were sent to the coast. "In Kashmir, a model of a ship was made which was much admired."[373] Early in the seventeenth century (1616-1619) Terry observed that the Mughal sea-going ships were huge, weighed at least fourteen to sixteen hundred and carried many guns."[374] But from the point of view of warfare they were not strong enough to defend themselves.[375]

370 Ain, I, p. 289.

371 Ibid., pp. 289-91.

372 Ibid., p. 290.

373 Ibid.

374 Foster, Early Travels, p. 301.

375 Ibid.

Manrique rightly observed that Mughal warships were more suited to be used on placid rivers than on high sea.[376]

Though river-borne trade flourished before the advent of the Mughals but the admiralty was not systematically organised until Akbar's reign. Boats were constructed on the orders of the government to carry both passengers and goods.[377] Ships were used throughout the country, where rivers were navigable, but in Bengal, Kashmir and Thatta they were the pivot of all commerce. Strong boats were constructed which were capable of carrying elephants. Other types of boats called ghicabs, were made "in such a manner as to be of use in sieges and for the conquest of strong forts.[378]

In North-west India, due to the navigability of Indus and the large tributaries, there were strong intra-regional communication links through these rivers. Though, sailing down the Indus was easier and took lesser time than sailing up the river, still the flow of traffic on the river was continuous. The region of Sind was closely connected with Punjab through the Indus and its tributaries. It seems that the flow of traffic through the Indus was relatively less when compared to the Ganges. This was perhaps due to the infertile land and low density of population in the region. Nevertheless, the utility of the Indus river to the Sind region was such that nearly all important settlements were lo-

376 F.S. Manrique, Travels, II, Hakluyt Society, 1927, p.278.

377 A.K.M. Farooque, p. 117.

378 Ain, I, p. 289.

cated along it.

The rivers of Punjab facilitated the traffic at both ends. The town of Lahore, located on the bank of the Ravi, was linked with Kashmir and Multan and further down with Bhakkar/Sukkar and Thatta by the rivers of the Indus system. De Laet found many boats of 60 tons capacity, playing between Lahore and the trading centre of Thatta in Sind after the rainy season. Lahore-Thatta voyage used to take about 40 days.[379] In the Thatta region, according to Ain, "The means of locomotion were the boats of which there were many kinds, large and small to the number 40,000."[380] In Kashmir too, goods and merchandise were transported by boats.[381]

With the above discussion, it is clear that the means of transport, as one of the technological determinents of regional linkages, might have played a very crucial role in determining the type and extent of the movement of people, goods and ideas within and outside this region. During the latter Mughal period, with the change in the mode of transport and with the development of ships and naval power, the whole concept of travel and trade changed and many of the physical determinents like mountain passes and river fords became less important.

379 De Laet, p. 5.

380 Ain, II, p. 339.

381 Ibid., p. 354.

3.4 CONCLUSIONS

While describing the linkages as regional imperatives, some significant factors which were influencing their evolution became apparent and may be summed up as follows:

i) The regions suitable for settled agriculture, with a sound and strong economic base, were the most economically prosperous regions of North-West India during the period of Early Mughals. In these areas not only agricultural production was more but they werethe producers of some of the most important industrial goods. The suba of Lahor, for instance was not only producing wheat, millet, cotton, indigo, sugarcane, poppy etc. in large quantities but was also a leading producer of cotton textile, silk products, chikan work and metal industries. The Multan region (which possessed fertile lands in lesser abundance than Lahor) was producing wheat, millet, cotton, indigo, sugarcane and poppy and had been famous for its cotton textiles. The Thatta region, which was attached to the suba of Multan, was producing poppy and Shali rice in large quantities. It was also famous for its cotton textiles and silk products. The Kabul region due to its limited productive lands was producing very little of foodgrains like small black coloured wheat. However to compensate this it was producing fruits in large quantities. It was also famous for its woollens which were in great demand. Qandahar was producing foodgrains in a very limited quantity due to lack of fertile lands suitable for the produc-

tion of foodgrains but it was producing fruits in large quantities. The valley of Kashmir, with fertile soil, and excellent climate was producing rice in large quantity. Kashmir region was also the chief producer of safforn and mulbery. The fruits of Kashmir were in great demand in different part of the country. Kashmir, due to the encouragement of the Mughal Kings, was able to increase the production of its woollen shawls, silk industry, wood and ivory work. The chief towns/cities of these regions became the major centres of the trade and commerce, during the period under study.

ii) While discussing the significant political developments of the period, it became apparent that North-West India, which remained in a politically fluid condition during the first three quarters of sixteenth century, got stablized during the second half of the Akbar's reign. Akbar was well aware of the strategic location of the region and tried to strengthen the Mughal defence by annexing Kabul in 1585, Kashmir in 1589, Sind in 1591 and Qandahar and Baluchistan in 1595 to the Mughal Empire. The political stability provided by Akbar and Jahangir helped in the development of inter-regional linkages in North-West India and with the surrounding regions.

iii) It was found that there came a qualitative change in the socio-cultural atmosphere of the country during the period of the Early Mughals. The socio-cultural

synthesis of the various communities living in the country was the result of Akbar's deeprooted secular policies which united the Hindus and Muslims of the country. His benevolent attitude towards his opponents and parental love towards his subjects without distinction of sect and creed, developed confidence among different communities. Jahangir also followed the same policy with success. Hence, the conditions for socio-cultural inter-action among the people belonging to different regions, religious, linguistic groups, castes and creeds etc., were perfect during the later half of the period under study. This obviously provided a significant boost to the strength of the inter-regional linkages in the country in general and the region in particular.

iv) While discussing the physical determinents of regional linkages, it was observed that in the mountainous regions the passes had played a dessive role in providing natural passages connecting two regions. After identifying plotting and describing the known passes of the region it became apparent that there was a significant shift in the relative importance and frequency of use of the passes during the period under study. For instance the passes through the Sulaiman ranges which were used very frequently during the early medieval period lost their significance during the period under study.

v) The location and role of river fords has also been established as it was found that the journies were always made through the plains of Indus keeping in mind the

season of the travel. All the travellers, in the absence of the bridges over the major rivers of Punjab were quite conscious of the unfordable nature of these rivers during the rainy seasons. Thus in the plain regions of Punjab and Sind river fords invariably determined human movement and thus the regional linkages in the final analysis.

vi) While discussing the technological determinents, it was found that during the period of the Early Mughals the technology of construction of permanent bridges over the major rivers was not developed. Semi-permanent wooden bridges, however, were made on some of the major rivers of Punjab during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, after the consolidation of Mughal power in the country. This is a pointer to the fact that it was not only a question of lack of technological knowhow of bridge making but perhaps the earlier kings were not really interested in opening the gates of India to outsiders, by making the bridges when the North-West was not in their control. Even during the times of Akbar and Jahangir the temporary boat bridges were being constructed at the time of the crossing of the river. The technique of making pantoons was perfected by Akbar who took personal interest in their making.

vii) Road-building and other similar activities were well planned and supervised by a public works department under the Mughals. Important roads and high ways were well maintained but lesser routes were repaired only before the

march of the emperor. As the emperors did not always follow well known routes, new roads and routes were built and connected to existing roads. Mughal technicians and road builders, though did their best to over come the physical obstruction posed by the hilly nature of the North-West India, but, in the absence of the scientific knowledge of the road building, of proper materials and tools, their methods changed little from the times of the Delhi Sultans.

viii) It was also observed that the means of transport played a very significant role in determining the extent and volume of traffic on land. The use of carts, though was very common, but due to unbridged rivers in the plain regions and the rugged terrain in the hilly regions, was limited to short distance travels. Bulk of long distance traffic was moved by means of pack animals - elephants, camels, horses, bullocks and mules. During the rainy season in the plain areas of Punjab and Sind, when roads and routes were inundated or even washed away, travel by boats along the rivers was the only convenient means of transport. The region of Sind was closely connected with Punjab through the Indus and its tributaries. The town of Lahor, located on the bank of the Ravi, was linked by the rivers of the Indus system with Kashmir and Multan and further down with Bhakkar/Sukkar and Thatta.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROUTES: SPATIO-TEMPORAL RECONSTRUCTION

4.1 Routes Linking Surrounding Territories
- 4.1.1 Farghana-Kabul Route
- 4.1.2 Kabul-Badakhshan Route
- 4.1.3 Kabul-Balkh Route
- 4.1.4 Kabul-Khurasan Route
- 4.1.5 Qandahar-Khurasan Route
- 4.1.6 Kashmir-Maryul Route
- 4.1.7 Kashmir-Badakhshan Route
- 4.1.8 Kashmir-Kishtwar Route

4.2 Routes of First Order
- 4.2.1 Kabul-Delhi/Agra Route
- 4.2.2 Kabul-Qandahar Route

4.3 Routes of Second Order
- 4.3.1 Kashmir-Lahor Route
- 4.3.2 Kashmir-Kabul Route
- 4.3.3 Sind-Lahor Route

4.4 Routes of Third Order
- 4.4.1 Sind-Gujarat Route

4.5 Conclusions

CHAPTER IV

THE ROUTES: SPATIO-TEMPORAL RECONSTRUCTION



The natural function of a route is to connect settlements and to act as a line of communication between them. The role of routes in establishing and maintaining the regional links can barely be exaggerated. The routes enable travel and trade between regions and are agents in establishing political stability, creating economic prosperity and promoting social justice. Lack of communication, leads to political distintegration, economic backwardness and socio-physical isolation within the country.

The significance of a route is determined by the purpose for which it is being used, while the purpose of its use depends upon the size, nature and functions of the settlement which the route connects. In every region there is a hierarchy of settlements and consequently a hierarchy of routes - the larger settlements are connected by major routes while smaller settlements by less important routes. The possibility of the development of larger settlements is certainly mere in areas of attraction than say, in the negative regions, due to obvious socio-economic reasons. Thus, it will not be unreasonable to assume that the routes linking major settlements of the areas of attraction, usually, have been more important than the routes linking small settlements in other areas.

There is no doubt, that the significance of a route is determined by the functions for which it has been used.

But these functions do change in time. These changes may occur due to various reasons - economic, political, socio-cultural, physical and technological etc. The significance of a route may increase or decrease not only due to the change in the socio-economic and political structure of the regions it connects but also of the regions it passes through. In the case of North West India, most of the major routes remained significant during the period under study. However, there were instances when several minor and a few major changes occurred in the spatial pattern of the routes in the region.

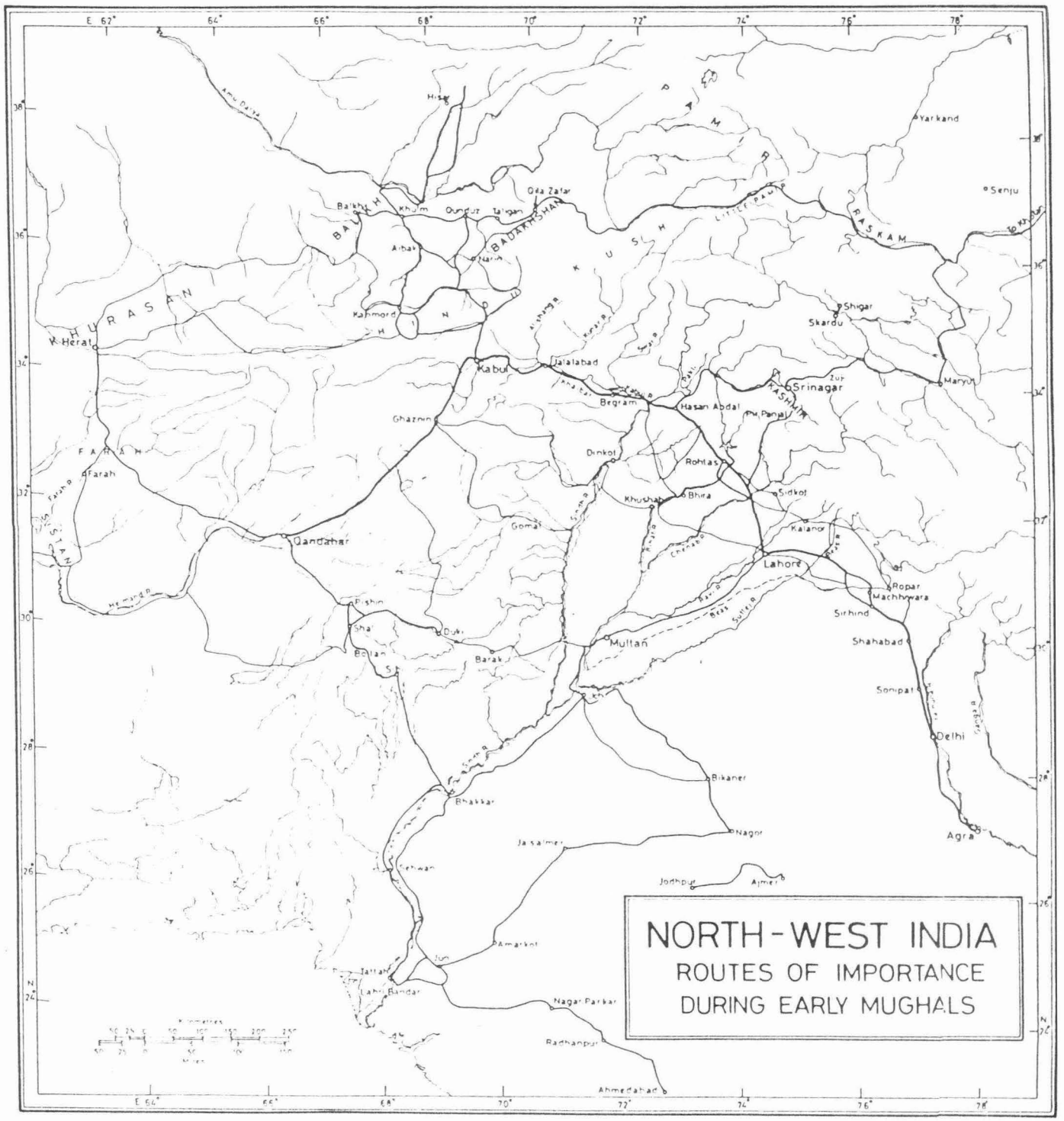
Mughal Kings realized the importance of establishing, maintaining and guarding the routes of North West India. Babar travelled extensively in the Kabul and the Qandahar regions but it seems that he rarely had the time and resources to improve the roads of these regions. Humayun's rule was also short lived. It was really Sher Shah Suri who tried to develop and maintain the roads but most of the North West was not under his control. Kabul,Kashmir, Sind and Qandahar etc. were included in the Indian Empire only during the times of Akbar. After securing some of these regions it was possible for the Mughal administrators to control and guard these route properly. Jahangir also gave much importance to the repairs and maintainance of some of the important routes of the region.

Though the detailed account of some routes is not available, however, it is possible to re-construct the spatial

pattern of the routes in this region with the help of contemporary sources. Quite a detailed account of those routes is available on which the kings travelled. Some of the roads which were quite frequented during the early periods lost their significance later on. There are stray references to some of these routes in the contemporary sources but separate maps have not been prepared for them. These routes, however, have been shown on the made for the whole region (see map 4.1).

In this chapter an attempt has been made to reconstruct the routes of North West India and the surrounding territories for the period under study. The reconstruction has been done on the basis of the description of these routes in travel accounts of kings and travellers of the contemporary period. After the reconstruction, all the routes have been classified on the basis of their relative functional significance. The major routes which were traversed and hence described more than once during the period under study have been reconstructed more authentically than the route traversed only once.

In the case of the major routes, an attempt has been made to analyse the changes in the spatial pattern of the route in course of time. This has been done by arranging the accounts of the routes chronologically. While identifying and describing a route an attempt has also been made to know about the alternative routes between the two regions and their relative significance. The reasons for the estab-


NORTH-WEST INDIA
ROUTES OF IMPORTANCE
DURING EARLY MUGHALS
Amu Darya
Hisar
Yarkand
Balkh
Khulm
Qunduz
Talqan
Oda Zafar
BADAKHSHAN
Senju
PAMIR
KUSH
LITTLE PAMIR
PASKAM
Aibak
Kahmard
Shigar
Skardu
Herat
Kabul
Jalalabad
Srinagar
Maryul
Begram
Hasan Abdal
Panjal
KASHMIR
Ghazni
Dinkot
Rohtas
Farah
Bhira
Sirkot
Khushab
Kalanor
Qandahar
Gomal
Lahore
Ropar
Machhiwara
Sirhind
Pishin
Multan
Shahabad
Somipat
Delhi
Bikaner
Bhakkar
Nagor
Agra
Jaisalmer
Jodhpur
Ajmer
Amarkot
Nagar Parkar
Radhanpur
Ahmedabad

Map 4·1

lishment of alternative routes and the decline of old established routes have also been ascertained. Special emphasis has been given to the understanding of the circumstances in which the journies were made since at times the direct route wa lowed by the travellers even in periods of suitable cl nditions.

h for this study all the possible routes have be fied and plotted on the maps but all these maps and their description have not been included in this report. We find that at times the journies were not made through proper routes at all due to political compulsions - like Humayun's flight from India to Persia. Likewise some of the Babar's journeys are also of no use for this study as he just followed any route in the tribal areas - in fact in those areas it has not been possible to reconstruct any route properly.

Apart from the routes linking surrounding territories all other routes have been divided into three categories, the routes of the first order, the routes of the second order and the routes of the third order. This division is based on the assumption that the routes linking two or more areas of attraction would have been the most important and most frequented and may be called the routes of the first order. The routes linking an area of relative isolation with an area of attraction may be called, the routes of the second order as they would have been less significant and less fre-

quented as compared to the first order routes. The routes linking two areas of relative isolation and passing through an area of isolation would have been still less functional and so less significant. The route connecting the areas of relative isolation with the areas of isolation have not been included, as the description of these routes in the contemporary sources is insufficient and more over the description is available only for a few routes. The areas of isolation, due to negative physical conditions did not have any proper routes so they have been kept out of the perview of this study.

The chapter has been divided into four sections. In the first section an attempt has been made to reconstruct some of the important routes linking North-West India with the surrounding territories during the period under study. While describing these routes, an attempt has been made to highlight the changing socio-political condition of the North-West India and of the surrounding territories as most of the journeys were made on these route at the time of changing fortunes of these regions. An attempt has also been made to describe the alternative routes between North-West India and the surrounding territory.

In the second section our concern has been to identify and reconstruct the routes of the first order within the North-West India. An attempt has also been made to understand the changing pattern of routes linking two or more

areas of attraction. The role of the changing political, techno-economic and social conditions in the emergence of these routes has also been assessed. While describing these routes which is done in a chronological order, an attempt has also been made to highlight the problems of travel on these routes and the role of the Mughal administration in making these routes safe for travel.

In the third section of the chapter, the routes of second order have been identified and described. The routes, which were linking newly conquered areas of relative isolation, with areas of attraction have also been described with the help of contemporary sources. Here an attempt has also been made to highlight the efforts, which the Mughals made in the development of the mountainous routes linking these newly conquered regions.

In the last section an attempt has been made to identify the routes of the third order. The information about the third order routes is very limited as the king usually did not travel on these routes which connected the areas of relative isolation with one another. However, while discribing the routes of the third order an attempt has been made to highlight the problems of travel on these routes because these routes were passing through negative and dangerous regions.

4.1 ROUTES LINKING SURROUNDING TERRITORIES

North-West India, as has already been discussed, was

more exposed to Central Asia, Persia and West Asia, than any other region of India. The influence and the impact of these regions on India first passed through its north-west. It is, therefore, necessary to trace some of the important routes, which were being used to link North-West India with the surrounding territories during the times of Early Mughals. There were obviously routes and alternative routes to link important settlements of this region with surrounding territories but the description of all these routes is not available in the contemporary sources.

There are various references to show that there was a constant flow of traffic of people and goods between India and the surrounding countries through Kabul and Qandahar. This information however, is so meagre that it cannot be used to construct route maps. The only regular information which helps us to do so are the accounts of the expeditions of Mughal Kings to the surrounding territories during the times of the Early Mughals. These accounts too are not always comprehensive and detailed as some of these journeys were made in desperation. The best example of this is Babar's journey from Badakhshan (Herat) to Kabul through Hari Rud Valley route. In some other expeditions also, instead of the direct routes, the longer routes were preferred due to some political and strategic reasons. Hence, while describing the routes it is important to highlight the conditions and seasons of the journey and also the reasons why the journey was undertaken.

With the help of contemporary sources, it was possible to trace the following routes and map them:

1. Kabul-Farghana Route
2. Kabul-Badakhshan Route
3. Kabul-Balkh Route
4. Kabul-Khurasan Route
5. Qandahar-Khurasan Route
6. Kashmir-Tibet Route
7. Kashmir-Badakhshan Route
8. Kashmir-Kishtwar Route

Unfortunately, Sind-Markaran route has not been described in any of the source used so it has not been included in this study. However, for this route lucid accounts are available in the pre-Mughal and European sources.

4.1.1 Farghana-Kabul Route

The reconstruction of this route is based on one of the accounts of Babar's march from Farghana to Kabul (1504).[1] The main source of information is the Babar Nama. Other sources like Akbar Nama, Tarikh-i-Rashidi[2] also refer to Babar's flight from Farghan, but the description of the route followed is very sketchy. Unfortunately, the description of the route in Babar Nama also lacks the geographical information required for the reconstruction of the route.

1 BN, pp. 187-196.

2 AN, I, pp. 227-228. Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, The Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Patna, 1972, pp. 175-177.

The reasons are obvious. Babar's march from Farghana to Kabul was not a planned one. In fact, Babar was defeated in his home land by Uzbeks under the leadership of Shaibani Khan. After wandering about and enduring great hardship and misery he reluctantly left Central Asia to try his luck in Afghanistan where the government was unstable.[3]

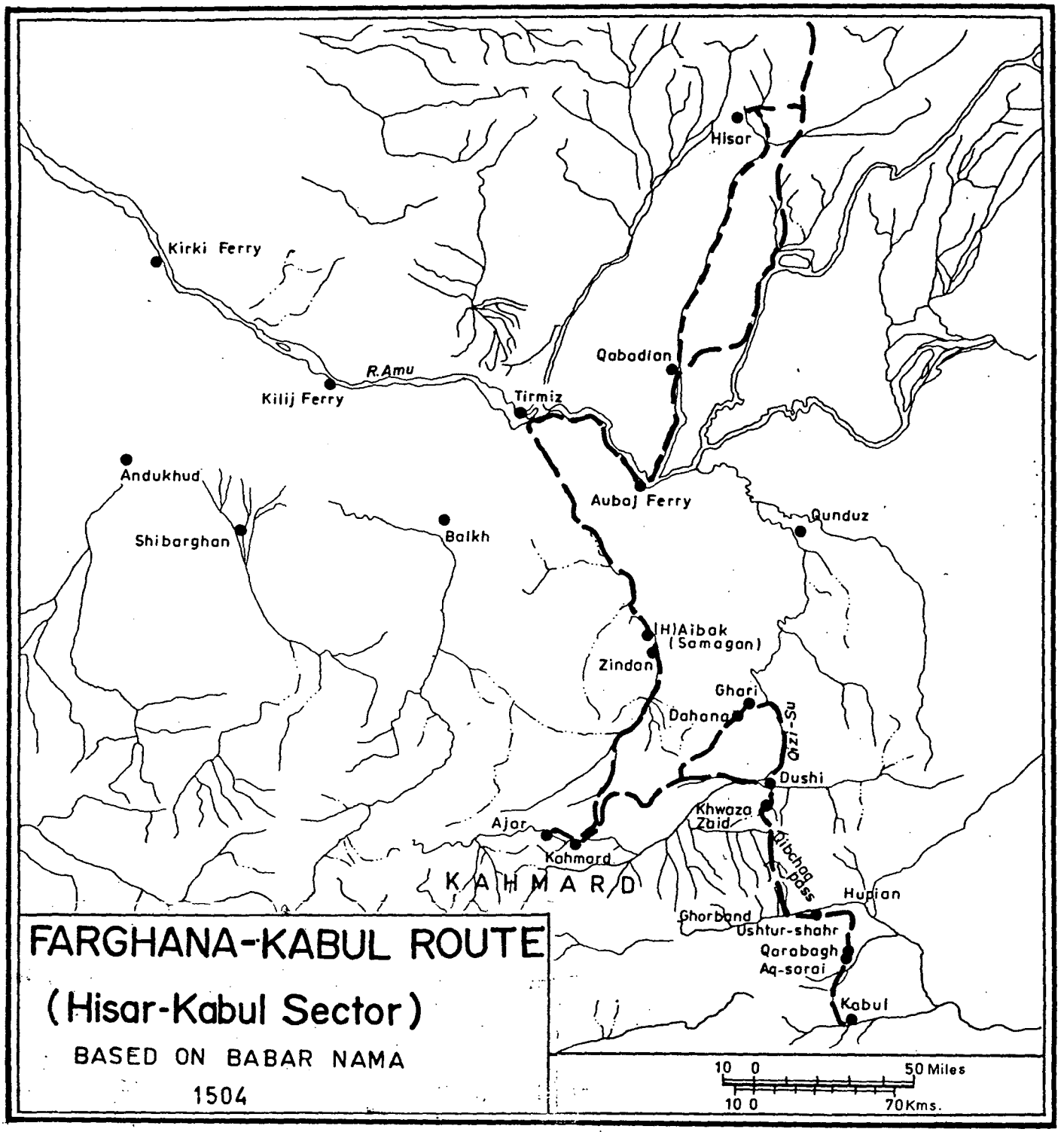
Babar followed a very circuitous route between Farghana and Hisar, dictated by the exigencies of the situations he had to face. We do not hence find it necessary to trace that sector of the route. The route Babar followed from Hisar is traceable and seems to be a direct one, though only a few places along this long route are mentioned. Babar, in fact, while leaving Farghana was intending to go to Khurasan.[4] At the time when he dismounted at Ailak-yilak,[5] one of the summer pastures of Hisar (see map 4.2), his supporters were between 200 to 300 and almost on foot. He mentions the misery of the fugitives, "we had two tents (Chadar) among us; my own used to be pitched for my mother, and they set an alachug at each stage for me to sit in."[6]

3 Tripathi, p. 13.

4 BN, p. 188.

5 Beveridge, A.S. identified it as 'Ilak Valley'. "The route from Sukh would be over the Alauddin-pass into Qizi-su Valley, down to Ab-i-garm and to the Ailaq-Valley, Khwaja Imad, the Kafirnigan, Qabadian, and Aubaj on the Amu." BN, p. 187, f.n. 3. Unfortunately due to unability to get detailed map of this region it is not possible to identify some of these places.

6 BN, p. 188.



FARGHANA-KABUL ROUTE

(Hisar-Kabul Sector)

BASED ON BABAR NAMA

1504

Map 4.2

But fortunately for him, after a long time, things were taking a positive turn and while he was moving towards Amu Darya (Oxus) the discontented retainers of Khusrau Shah[7] and people from Hisar started joining him. Babar delayed his journey at every stage[8] as he was hoping for some help from the tribes. When he reached Qabadian, a younger brother of Khusrau Shah, Bagi Chaghaniani, whose holdings were Chaghanian, Shahr-i-Safa and Tirmiz,[9] sent his good wishes and his desire for alliance. He himself greeted Babar at the Aubaj ferry.[10] Babar than went towards Tirmiz where the families and goods of Bagi and his retainers were brought across the river Amu to join Babar. They then set out together for Kahmard and Bamian which was then held by the nephew of Baqi.[11] Upto this point, Babar was not sure as to where they would go as he mentions, "our plan was to leave the households safe in the Fort of Ajar of Kahmard-Valley and to take action wherever action might seem well."[12]

7 "Khuran Shah was of the Tukistani Qipchaqs... Not only Badakhshan but the whole country from the Amu to Hindu Kush Mountain depended on him." BN, p. 49.

8 BN, p. 188.

9 Ibid.

10 Beveridege mentions that instead of Aubaj read Charjui (BN, p. 828). Apart from Aubajar Charjui, other ferries on Amu were Kilif (BN, pp. 57, 191), Kirki (BN, p. 191), Tirmiz (BN, p. 191).

11 BN, p. 189.

12 Ibid.

More people joined Babar when he reached Aibak[13] and then again in the Zindan Valley.[14] In three or four marches they reached Kahmard to deposit their household and families in Ajar.[15] They stayed there for some time and when they proceeded by way of Sham-tu and were near the Qizil-su,[16] three or four thousand heads of houses with their families joined them. Together they marched down to the Qizil-su and dismounted where it joined the water of Andar-ab. By this time Khusrau Shah, out of fear of Shaibani Khan, abandoned Qunduz and was planning to go to Khurasan with the permission of Babar. Babar crossed the Andar-ab water and took his seat under a large plane-tree near Dushi,[17] where Khusrau Shah paid his homage and was escorted by way of Ghuri and Dahanah and was left on the road to Khurasan.[18]

13 Better known as Haiback. Moorcroft identified Haibak with the old medieval town of Semenjan (Holdich, Gates of India, p. 946). Idrisi refers to Semenjan as "a pretty town, in every way comparable to Khulan, commercial, populated and encircled with mud walls".

14 The river Tashkhurghan is called Darra Zindan apparently after the name of Zindan, 7 miles sough of Aibak. It is to be noted that darra, meaning a narrow passage, is used in this region for a river as well as valley.

15 Babar might have followed up the Zindan (Tash Kurgan) river to its head and then drop over the Kara Pass into Kahmard at Bajgah.

16 Now known as Surkh-ab. See passes through Hindu Kush.

17 BN, p. 193. It seems that Babar encomped south of Andor-ab river, near its meeting point with Qizil-su (Surkh-ab) as to meet Khusrau, he had to cross Andar-ab.

18 BN, p. 194.

Marching from the camp for Kabul Babar dismounted in Khwaja Zaid.[19] From there in four or five marches they reached Ghor-band[20] and there dismounted in Ushtur-shahr. Babar got the news that Muqim's Chief beg, Sherak Arghun, was lying along the Baran. On hearing this they marched forward, starting in the afternoon and pressing on through the dark till, with the dawn they surmounted the Hupian pass.[21] The sun was a "spear's length high"[22] when they reached the foot of the Sanjid Valley and dismounted. They attacked Sherak below the Qara-bagh near Aikariyar and defeated them. From the camp they marched to the Aq-sarai meadow of the Qara bagh and there decided to move towards Kabul immediately, so they dismounted in Aba-quruq. Here the families which they left behind in the Ajar fort joined them after completing their journey with difficulty. Kabul was gained "without a fight, without an effort,"[23] in October 1504.

The description of Babar's journey clearly shows that he did not follow the direct route from Hisar to Kabul. To

19 Approximate location of the place is shown on the map.

20 Babar crossed the Hindu Kush through Qipchaq-pass, BN, p. 197.

21 Chinese travellers mention of a city called Hupian in the neighbourhood of Begram, but Masoon was inclined to place the site of Hupian near Charikar, where there was, in his time (1830s) a village called Halek Hupian. Holdich, Gates, p. 394.

22 Beveridge, mentions (in brackets) Jiyube, BN, p. 196.

23 BN, p. 199.

make this point clear, circumstances in which he was travelling have been discussed. The direct routes were, however, quite established between Kabul and various central Asian territories like Kashghar, Farghana, Turkistan, Samarkand, Bukhara, and Hisar.[24] There were many ferries on Amu Darya to indicate constant flow of traffic in these areas. It is also important to note that Babar did not mention any thing about the physical difficulties they might have faced on this route because he was overwhelmed by other more menacing dangers.

4.1.2 Kabul-Badakhshan Route

The Kabul region remained closely linked with Badakhshan, during the period under study. Badakhshan was conquered by Sultan Abu Said Mirza, a Timurid by descent, after killing Sultan Muhammad of Badakhshan. After his death, Badakhshan came into possession of his son Sultan Mahmud but after his death Amir Khusrau Khan, one of his nobles blinded Bayas ghar, the elder son, killed the second prince, and ruled as usurper. He submitted to Babar in 910 AH (1504 AD). When Babar took Qandahar in 912 AH (1507 AD), he sent Khan Mirza as governor to Badakhshan. Khan Mirza was the son of Mahmud.

After the death of Khan Mirza, Badakhshan was governed for Babar sequentially by prince Humayun, Sultan Uways,

24 BN, p. 202.

Prince Hindal and lastly, by Mirza Sulaiman - son of Khan Mirza. During the period of Humayun's exile, when he was trying to regain power Badakhshan changed hands frequently. But during this and later periods it is clear that the affairs of Kabul and Badakhshan remained closely linked.

The routes between Kabul and Badakhshan were quite known and well established. Different routes were taken by the travellers depending upon the nature and season of the journey. Fortunately, it is possible to reconstruct the routes between Kabul and Badakhshan with the help of the accounts of the expeditions of Humayun who tried different routes while travelling between Kabul and this city.

4.1.2.1 Nasir Mirza's Flight from Badakhshan (1507)

We have traced this route on the basis of the description of Nasir Mirza's flight from Badakhshan given in Babar Nama. Nasir Mirza had left Kabul after its conquest by Babar due to some misunderstanding and conquered Badakhshan. However, he was expelled from Badakhshan by the beg who "grew angry and mutinous because of the misconduct of Nasir Mirza",[25] and so reached Kabul in a very pathetic condition. The description of the route is not a detailed one as Babar himself did not travel on this route. Babar only mentions that Nasir Mirza "and his close circle took the road through

25 Ibid., pp. 321-322.

Ishkimish[26] (see map 4.3) and Narin[27] to Kila-gahi,[28] from there followed the Qizil-su[29] up, got out on the Ab-dara road, crossed at Shibrtu,[30] and so came to Kabul,[31] with 70 or 80 followers, worn-out, naked and famished."[32]

4.1.2.2 Humayun's Expedition to Badakhshan (1546)

The account of Humayun's Expedition to Badakhshan is mainly based on Akbar Nama.[33] Humayun, after establishing his rule in Qandahar and Kabul, decided to conquer Badakhshan. Humayun while going towards Badakhshan took a direct route i.e. via Andrab, Khost and Kishm. But for his return journey he had to take a much longer route, via Taliqan, Qunduz, Abadara and Shibar-tu, as he was travelling during the winter season and all other passes were covered with snow, except the Abdara. This circular route of Humayun,

26 The correct spelling of it is Tshkamish. The town is located on the western bank of one of the tributaries of Bangi river.

27 The settlement of Narin is on the north of the river of the same name.

28 It is located on the eastern bank of the river Qizil-su (Surkh-ab).

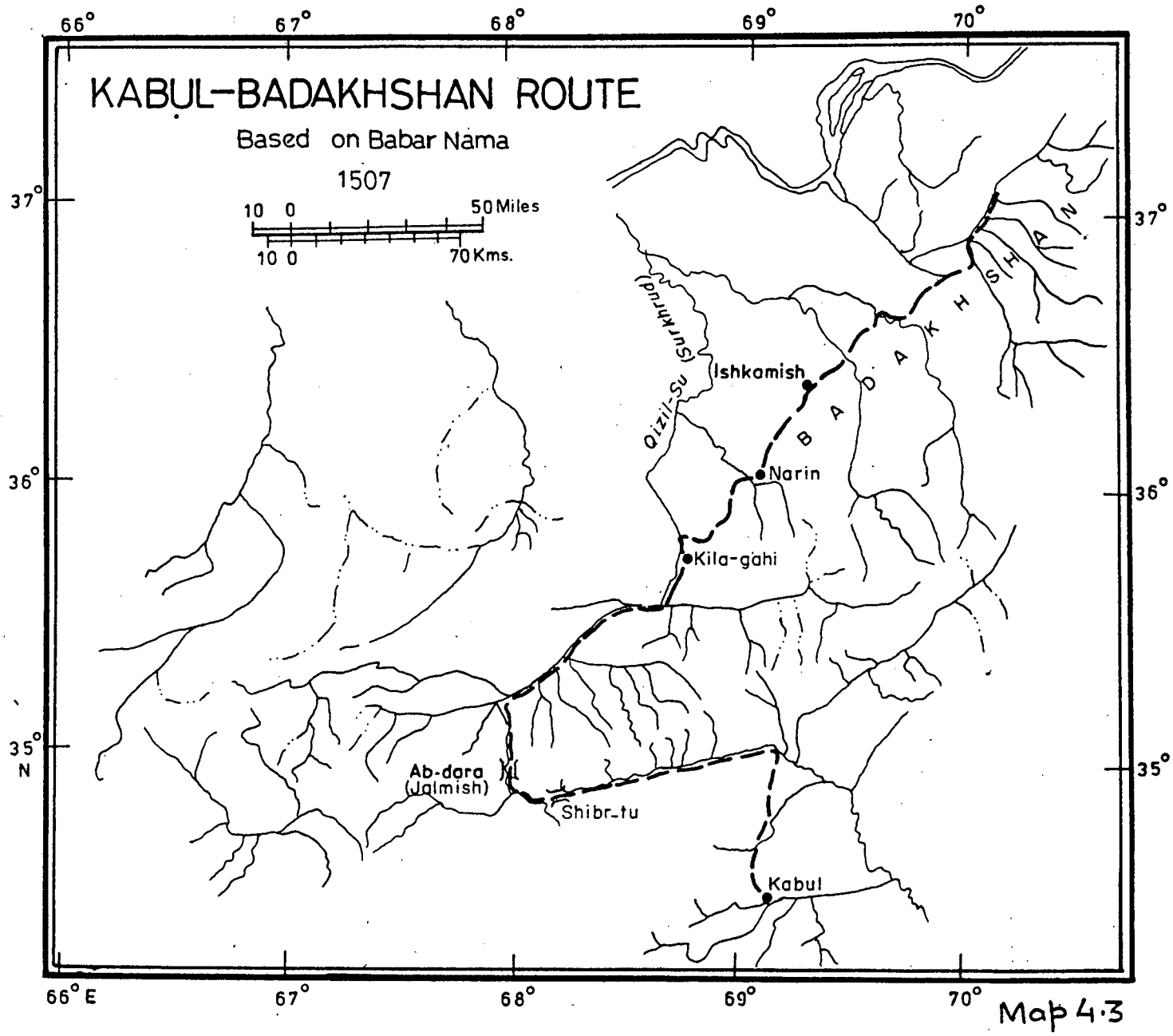
29 This is one of the many Red-rivers and flows from near Kahmard and joins the Andar-ab.

30 For the passes of Hindu Kush see section 3.2.1.1.

31 It was the easiest route from Kabul to Qizil-su.

32 BN, p. 321.

33 AN, I, pp. 490-516.


KABUL–BADAKHSHAN ROUTE
Based on Babar Nama
1507
10 0 50 Miles
10 0 70 Kms.
66°
67°
68°
69°
70°
37°
36°
35°
N
66° E
Qizil-Su (Surkhrud)
Ishkamish
Narin
Kila-gahi
Ab-dara (Jalmish)
Shibr-tu
Kabul
BADAKHSHAN

Map 4.3

gives us an ideas of all the possible direct routes between these two regions during that period. The description of these routes given in the sources is quite detailed and accurate.

Humayun started from Kabul for Badakhshan in March, 1546[34] and halted at Yurat Calak (see map 4.4).[35] They stayed at Ulang of Qara Bagh.[36] When Humayun reached Andrab, Mirza Sulaiman offered a battle at the village of Tirgiran[37] which was a dependency of Andrab. A great battle was fought, which Mirza Sulaiman lost and went off towards the defiles of Khost by way of Narin and Iskamish[38] and ultimately fled to Kulab.[39]

After the victory Humayun reached the valley of Khost[40]

34 Ibid., p. 490.

35 Ibid. Possibly it is Calakan, which lies few miles south of Qara Bagh.

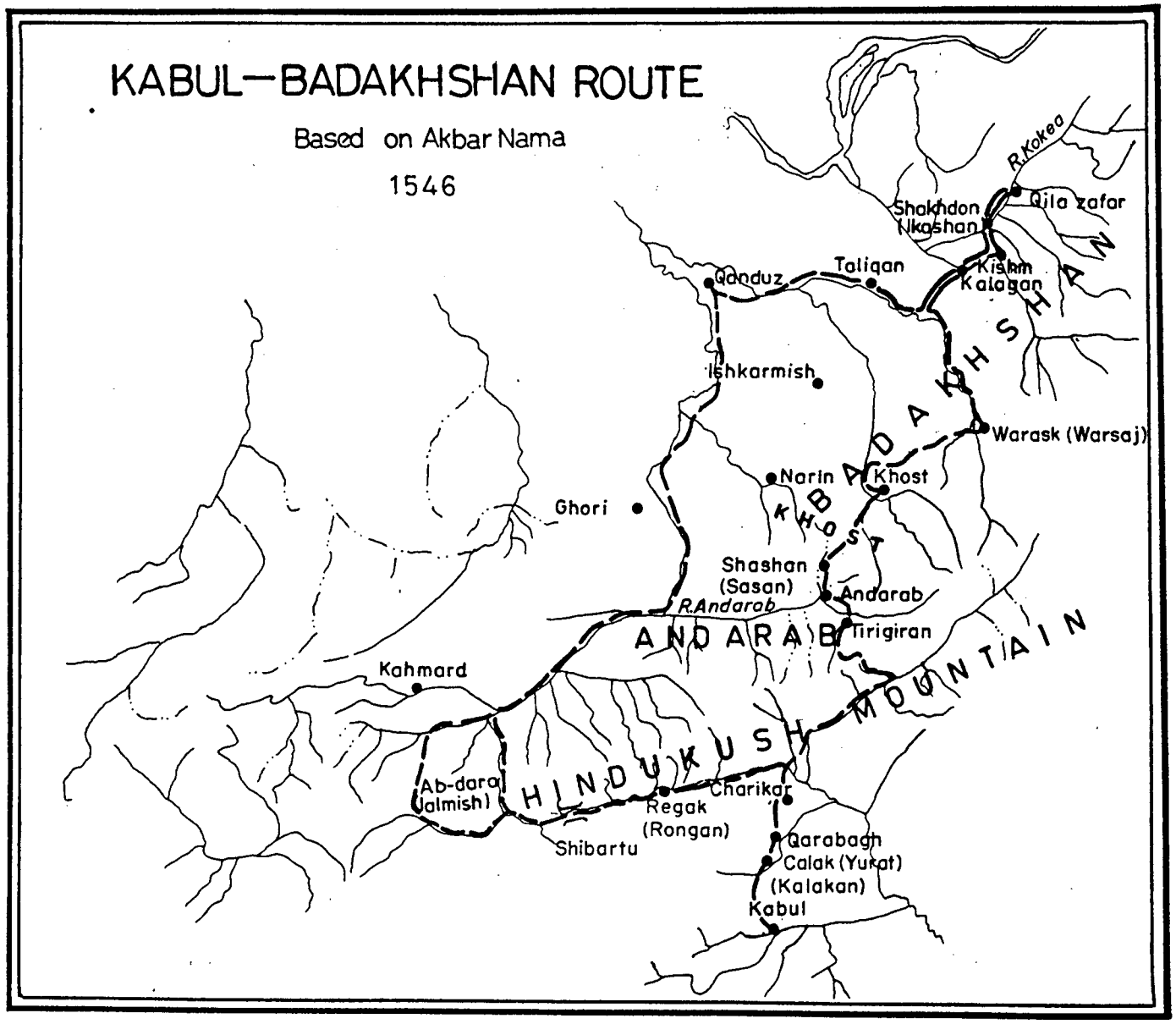
36 Ibid. Qara Bagh lies 25 miles north of Kabul and a few miles east of Istilaf. Babar, while coming to conquer Kabul in 1504 halted at this place.

37 Ibid., p. 491. Tirgiran is located a few miles south-east of Andrab.

38 Ibid., p. 492. The Khost district was located adjacent to Andrab region thus the order of places is correct but the route mentioned is wrong. Mirza Sulaiman might have gone through the defiles of Khost towards Narin and then Iskamish.

39 Ibid. Beyond the Amu Darya.

40 Ibid. Irfan in his Atlas correctly shows Khost district adjacent to Andrab. The location of Khost is in confirmity with the description of this march of Humayun from Andrab to Khost Valley through Shashan.


KABUL—BADAKHSHAN ROUTE
Based on Akbar Nama
1546
R.Kokca
Shakhdon
Ukashan
Qila zafar
Qanduz
Taliqan
Kishm
Kalagan
BADAKHSHAN
Ishkarmish
Warask (Warsaj)
Narin
Khost
KHOST
Ghori
Shashan
(Sasan)
Andarab
R.Andarab
ANDARAB
Tirigiran
MOUNTAIN
Kahmard
HINDUKUSH
Ab-dara
(almish)
Regak
(Rongan)
Charikar
Shibartu
Qarabagh
Calak (Yurat)
(Kalakan)
Kabul

Map 4·4

through the pass of Shashan[41] and stayed there for several days on account of the abundance of fruits. For hunting waterfowl and part-ridges and for fishing he proceeded to Warask.[42] There he practised the netting of birds (ganji-shk) which is a speciality of that place. From thence he went to Kalaogan[43] and from there to Kishm.[44] Humayun resolved that "for the better management of the affairs of Badakhshan and for the comfort of the subject and soldiery he would make Qila Zafar his winter-quarters."[45] Humayun thus proceeded in that direction, but when he came to Shakhdan,[46] between Kishm and Qila Zafar,[47] he fell ill and had to halt there for nearly two months. There was a lot of confusion among the nobles as Hindal tried to replace

41 AN, I, p. 492. The location of Shashan is shown in various maps. The pass of Shashan is located on the North-East of the settlement. But three passes are shown (Pulfi, Lunda and Borak) on the map prepared to Illustrata the Life of Amir Abdur Rehman. It is difficult to say with certainty which of these passes was used by Humayun to reach the Khost Valley.

42 Ibid. Possibly it is Warsaj of modern maps. The place or region is referred to by Babar or Varsak. Beveridge, N.S. identified it as located "on the water flowing to Taliqan from Khwaja Muhammad range", BN, p. 523, f.n. 1).

43 Ibid., p. 493. The Kalagan of the maps, few miles of Kishm.

44 Ibid. It is Kesham of modern maps.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid. Ikashan of modern map, which lies between Kishm and Qila Zafar as mentioned by A.F.

47 This place does not exist now. Its ruins may still be seen on the eastern bank of the Kakcha river, a little

Humayun.[48] The attempt was, however, foiled by loyalists.

After the recovery, Humayun proceeded towards Qila Zafar. There he got the news of the capture of Kabul by Mirza Kamran[49] and so decided to hasten by the defile of Ab-dara.[50] He started immediately[51] but had to stay for some days in Taliqan[52] on account of the protracted continuance of the ice and snow. When the snow had abated Humayun moved from Taliqan towards Qanduz, which was given to Hindal. In Qanduz, Humayun stayed in the garden of Khusru Shah and after the Id-i-Qurban[53] he moved by the pass of Shibartu[54]

Cont'd.. f.n. 47

below the mouth of the Argu river and above that of the Teshkan stream. 'Its earlier name was Shaf-Tiwar' (BN, p. 242).

48 AN, I, p. 494.

49 Ibid., p. 504.

50 Ibid. Ab-dara, shown as Jalmish on the modern maps was the only route open during winter season. All other passes of Hindu Kush were covered with snow and so were not passable.

51 Before leaving Qila Zafar Humayun sent a letter to M. Sulaiman, pardoning his offences and restoring the territories which Babar had bestowed on his father. AN, I, p. 504.

52 AN, I, p. 504.

53 Ibid. The date of the Id was 1st February 1547. This shows that Humayun might have started from Qila Zafar at the peak of the cold.

54 Ibid.

to the pass of Regak[55] and halted at Khwaja Seh Yaran and reached Kabul after staying for a few days at Carikaran.[56] Humayun captured Kabul[57] once again from Mirza Kamran.

4.1.2.3 Humayun's Expedition to Badakhshan (1548)

Mirza Kamran after his expulsion from Kabul in 1547 did not sit idle. He went to Sulaiman of Badakhshan, but on being refused any help he pushed on and sought the help of the Uzbeks. The Uzbeks gladly agreed to help and send a powerful force with Kamran. Humayun was forced to proceed towards Badakhshan as Kamran defeated Sulaiman Mirza and Hindal. In this expedition Humayun did not go upto Qila Zafar as the battle was fought at the fort of Taliqan. For this journey Humayun took the most direct route as he was travelling during the summers on his way to Badakhshan.

Humayun started from Kabul on 12th June 1548[58] and encamped at Alang Calak[59] (see Map 4.5). After two or three

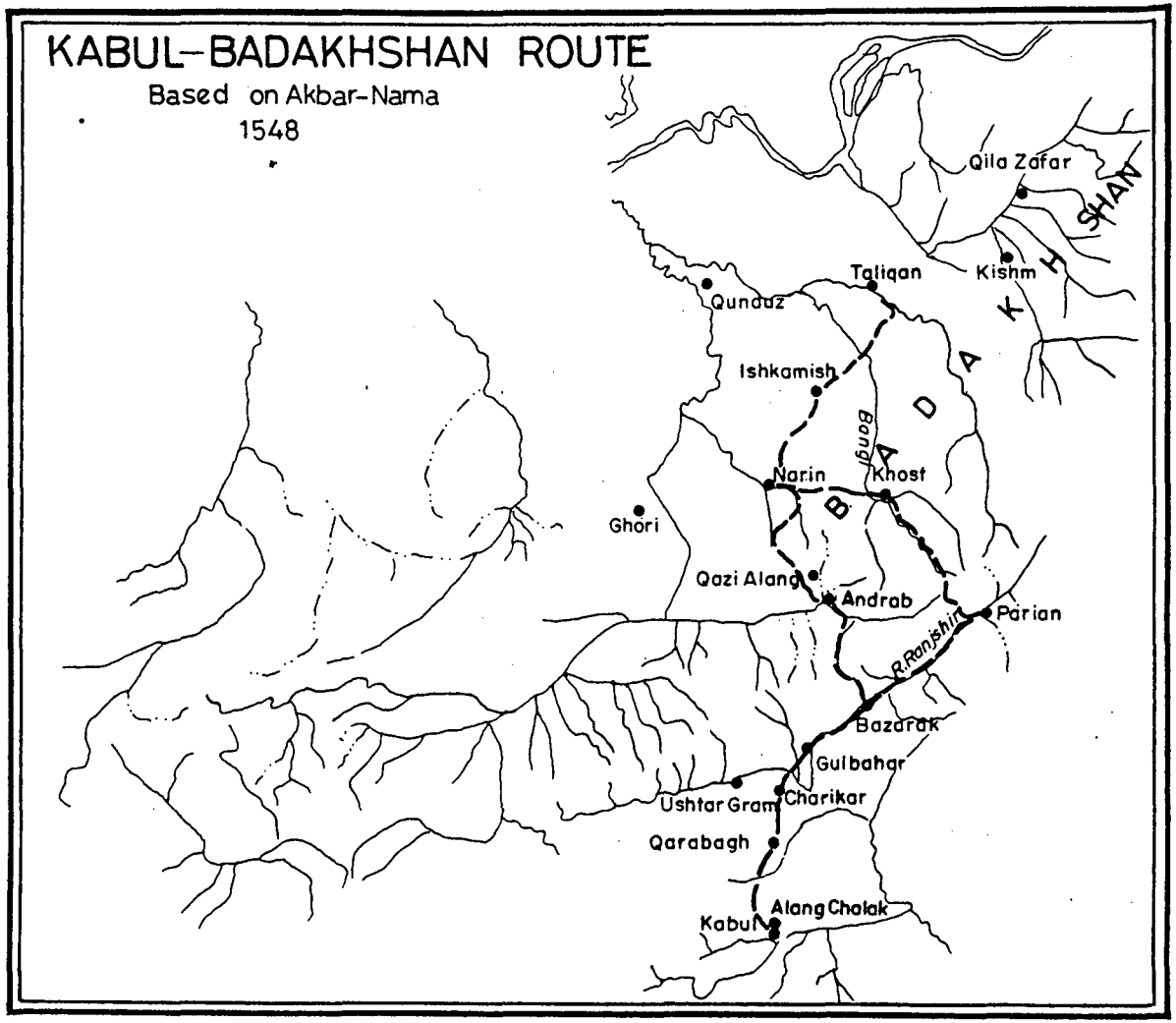
55 Ibid. Beveridge, H., suggest that it can be Khawak pass (f.n. 3). This is an absurd suggestion as Humayun came through Ab-darra and Shibartu. It is not clear why he had gone to the Khawak pass which lies on the eastern most corner of Hindu Kush range. In all probability it is Rangan on the Ghorband river.

56 AN, I, p. 505. There is no place in this area of this name. Humayun might have stayed at Charikar.

57 AN, I, p. 514, 27 April 1547.

58 AN, I, p. 525.

59 Ibid. Alang or meadow of Chalak is mentioned by Babar as located 2 miles (1 shari) north-west of Kabul. Babar mentions that the meadow is a large one but in it mosquitos greatly trouble the horses. (BN, p. 204).


KABUL-BADAKHSHAN ROUTE
Based on Akbar-Nama
1548
Qila Zafar
SHAN
BADAKH
Taliqan
Kishm
Qunduz
Ishkamish
Bangi
Narin
Khost
Ghori
Qazi Alang
Andrab
Parian
R.Ranjshir
Bazarak
Gulbahar
Ushtar Gram
Charikar
Qarabagh
Alang Chalak
Kabul

Map 4.5

days, they moved from there to Qara Bagh,[60] where they remained ten or twelve days on account of some state affairs. From the village of Gulbihar,[61] Akbar was sent back to Kabul with his mother. They reached the village of Bazarak[62] in the Tuman of Panjshir and from there an advance party was sent to Andarab which occupied the fort.[63] Later on Humayun reached Andarab and stayed there to settle the administrative affairs. The royal camp reached the Qazi's Alang,[64] which is a village of Andrab, on 22nd July 1548.[65] From thence the army proceeded to Taliqan.[66]

60 AN, I, p. 525.

61 Ibid. It is Gul-i-bahar of Babar Nama. Babar refers it in various connections. It is on the left bank of Panjshir river.

62 AN, I, p. 526. Bazarak means small-bazar. Bazarak is the most direct road and it leads over into Sur-i-ab (BN, p. 205).

63 AN, I, p. 527. Andarab was an ancient settlement. Idrisi writes "from Andarab to Badakhshan towards the east is a four day's journey". Holdich mentions that "Andarab (the ancient site) being fixed at the junction of the Kasan stream with the Andarab River, the only possible route eastwards would be to the head of the Andarab at Khawak". (Gates of India, pp. 427-428). Habib locates Andrab further west, which is not correct as it is far away from the main route.

64 The location of Qazi's Alang (meadow) is marked approximately.

65 AN, I, p. 528. The date in AN is given as 22nd May which is obviously incorrect as Humayun started from Kabul on 12th June.

66 Talikan of modern maps. Talikan according to Holdich "was one of a group of important cities whose connection with India lay through Andarab and the northern passes of the Hindu Kush" (Gates of India, p. 243).

It is further mentioned in the Babar Nama that "most of the fugitive officers, as well as Mirza Abdullah and a number of M. Kamran's men, were in garrison there (Taliqan). An order was issued to M. Hindal and the officers with him to cross the Bangi[67] river and engage. Just then M. Kamran hastily brought his men from Qila Zaffar and Kishm and joined the Unholy Crew."[68] In July 1548 Humayun came into conflict with Kamran. It was the gallantry of Mirza Hindal that averted a calamity and compelled Kamran to retire to Taliqan. The seige of Taliqan fort was so vigorously conducted that Kamran surrendered on 17th August 1548 on the condition that he be allowed to go to Mecca. Humayun accepted the terms and granted general amnesty.[69]

Next day a counsel was held with the princes and officers about an expedition against Balkh. Everyone spoke according to his opinions. His Majesty ordered that when the army arrived at Nari whatever appeared proper should be carried into execution. Nari[70] is a village from which

67 Bangi river flows south of Taliqan. For detail account of Bangi river see Habib's Atlas (Notes Sheet IA-B).

68 AN, I, pp. 528-529.

69 Tripathi, p. 163.

70 It is Narin in BN and modern maps. In the year 1549 when Humayun went to Balkh he passed through Narin and Aibak. Narin might have been an important place due to its location more or less at the centre of Kabul, Balkh and Badakhshan triangle.

there is a road to Balkh and another to Kabul.[71]

On the fourth day they marched from Taliqan and at night encamped at the spring of Bandgasha which is near Ishkamish.[72] From there Humayun proceeded to the village of Nari.[73] Then the army marched to Khust[74] and halted in that delightful spot.[75] Humayun subsequently went on by Parian[76] towards Kabul. Babar is said to have laid the foundation of the fort of Parian. Humayun repaired it and gave it the name of Islamabad. Humayun remained there for ten days.[77] From there Humayun proceeded and encamped on the banks of Panjshir river near the pass of Ushtar Karam.[78] He reached the environs of Kabul in the beginning of winter when the ground became white with snow.[79]

71 AN, I, p. 538.

72 Ibid. Ishkamish was important due to its location equdistant from Qanduz and Taliqan.

73 AN, I, p. 538.

74 At Nari it was resolved that the expedition against Balkh should take place (AN, I, p. 539).

75 Humayun liked the valley of Khust very much. During his earlier expedition to Badakhshan he stayed in the valley of Khust for many days. Humayun, in all probability took this slightly longer route to visit this delighted spot.

76 The village of Parian is located on the upper reaches of Panjshir river. The fort was erected here due to its location near Kafirstan. In fact there is no established route between Khost and Parian.

77 AN, I, p. 540.

78 Ibid. It is Ushtar Gram. It was a common halting place. The name meaning the Camel's village.

79 Ibid.

4.1.3 Kabul-Balkh Route

The links between Kabul and Balkh regions were quite established even during the ancient period. "Balkh, the 'mother of cities' (said to have been founded by Nimrod), has figured in ancient history as the central focus of Asiatic trade, dominating the vast extent of the lower Oxus plain once cultivated and teeming with a civilized population. This can never be again."[80] The ruthless hands of such destroyers as Chengiz Khan and his Mongol successors shook the walls of Balkh from their foundations and destroyed its inhabitants at recurring intervals.

The destruction of this flourishing centre of trade and culture was a set-back to the established linkages between these two regions. The Balkh region, however, once again regained prominence as it posesses considerable strategic importance since it dominates all communication between Qunduz and Kabul, as well as over those lines of approach which lead southward from the ferries and crossings of the Amu Darya (Oxus) at Kilif.[81]

Though various references to the Kabul-Balkh route are found in Akbar Nama, only one detailed account of it, based on Humayun's expedition to Balkh (1549), is given there.[82] However, both Babar and Humayun passed through

80 Holdich, India, p. 63.

81 Ibid., p. 64.

82 AN, I, pp. 443-452.

the places from where the routes to Balkh were direct. Babar, while coming from Farghana (1504) passed through Aibak, which lies only few marches away from Balkh. At another occasion, Babar passed through Darra Suf, when he was going to Khurasan. There was a direct route to Balkh from Darra Suf along Balkh. During the expedition to Badakhshan (1548), Humayun reached the village of Nari or Narin "from which there is a road to Balkh."[83] During the earlier expedition to Badakhshan (1546) he reached upto Qunduz from where the road to Balkh is most direct. All these places, however, lie north of Hindu Kush range.

There were various possible routes between Kabul and Balkh, depending upon the pass through which Hindu Kush[84] was crossed. If the Hindu Kush was crossed, through the passes in Panjshir region e.g. Khawak, Tul and Bazarak than the direct route was through, Andarab, Baqlan, Aibak, Khulm and Mazar Sharif. This route, however, was impassable during the winter months.

The passes through the central part of the Hindu Kush range, it seems, were not under frequent use during the period under study.[85] Babar mentions only one of these pass-roads through this part of the range. From the Kabul

83 Ibid., p. 538.

84 For a detailed account of the passes through Hindu Kush see section 3.2.1.1.

85 In the travel accounts of this period it is appeared that no army passed through the passes of Hindu Kush between Bazarak and Qipchaq.

side, the route starts from Parwan, "a commercial site more ancient than that of Kabul"[86] and passes through Haft-bacha before its main pass (Baj-gah).[87] This route leads to Doshi via Khinjan. The direct route to Balkh from Doshi was through Ghori, Aibak, Khulm and Mazar Sharif. There are other passes, which were quite important prior to Babar, which he did not mention. The most important of these passes was the Kushan or Kaoshan. According to local tradition, this pass was traversed by Alexander.[88] The Kaoshan[89] pass lies south-west of Bajgah pass and also leads to the Andarab-Dushi road.

It has already been mentioned that out of the various passes through Hindu Kush in the Ghorband Valley, Babar took note of only three e.g. Yangi-yul, Qipchaq and Shibr-tu. Of these three only Yangi-yul (New road) passed-road goes through Walian to Khinjan. The Yangi-yul route, during the time of Babar, was perhaps a newly developed pass-road. At present, Yangi-yul is known as the Walian pass. On the west of this route, is the Qipchaq road, which according to Babar leads to the point "where the water of Andarab meets Surkh-ab (Qizil su)".[90] At this point is located, Doshi. There is a direct route from Doshi to Balkh. The route first

86 Holdich, Gates of India, p. 414.

87 BN, p. 205.

88 Holdich, Gates of India, p. 87.

89 The Kushan pass is at the altitude of 14,350'.

90 BN, p. 205.

follows Surkh-ab to reach upto Baglan and then turn towards the plateau to reach Aibak pass. The Aibak Balkh route has already been discussed. The route between, Doshi and Baglan is earlier than Andarab-Baqlan route via Narin.

The western most routes through Hindu Kush range passes via Shibr-tu pass. As mentioned earlier Shibr-tu does not pass through the Hindu Kush range but turns and avoids the range. Therefore two pass-routes are available to cross Hindu Kush after passing Shibr-tu. According to Babar, one route was through Ab-dara (water-valley) which was open even during the winter season when all other passes through Hindu Kush are impassable because of snow.[91] This route was taken by Nasir Mirza[92] (1507) and Humayun[93] (1546) even while they were coming from Badakhshan - since they were travelling during the winter months. The other route was through Bamian and Saighan. During the ancient and early medieval periods this route must have been the most important route since it passed through Bamian, which undoubtedly was, a place of great significance, probably more important as a Buddhist centre than Kabul, more valuable as a central trade-market ... than the Indian city, as Kabul was called".[94] Bamian lost its significance as a trading and cultural centre but remained important due to its location along the routes leading to Kabul.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid., p. 321.

93 AN, I, p. 504.

94 Holdich, Gates of India, p. 262.

The major route connecting Kabul and Balkh passed through Bamian.[95] The route between Bamian and Balkh ran via Aq Rabat, Gumbazak pass on to Saighan.[96] From Saighan, the route to Kahmard branched off leading to Dandan Shikan pass. The route from Saighan, after crossing Kahmard region, runs along the Darra Suf river and then, through Darra Gaz, reaches Balkh. Babar followed this route upto Darra Suf then turned towards Herat.[97]

Thus there were three major routes between Kabul and Balkh passing through Andarab, Doshi and Bamian. The choice between these three routes depended upon the severity of the season of the journey and other circumstances. The full account of the journey through Andarab is available only when Humayun led an unsuccessful expedition to Balkh.

In the beginning of 956 AH (February 1549) when the season had become milder. Humayun sent one of his confidants to Kamran with the information that he was proceeding against Balkh in accordance with the agreements and that M. Kamran should co-operate in this and meet him when he should arrive at the borders of Badakhshan. Orders were also sent to Mirza Hindal, Askari, Sulaiman and Ibrahim to make arrangements for carriage and to prepare their men and join quickly.[98]

95 Habib, Atlas, Notes, Sheet 1A-B, p. 1.

96 BN, p. 295.

97 Please see Kabul-Khurashan Route (4.1.4).

98 AN, I, p. 543.

The expedition started but because of arrangements and the disposal of business and the arrival of Haji Muhammad Khan from Ghazni, there was a delay of nearly a month in Calak[99] (see Map 4.6). When all the necessary, arrangements for the expedition were made, Humayun marched to Istalif.[100] Humayun marched slowly as he waited to be joined by the Mirzas. When he heard that they had started, and that M. Kamran was getting ready, he went by Panjshir[101] and encamped at Andrab.[102] Thence he went to Nari[103] where there is a "meeting of the ways".[104] Having crossed the Nari pass they traversed the plain of Nilbar,[105] the spring beauty of which is famous and pre-eminent above that of all other parts of Badakhshan. Near the flowery spot, Mirza Hindal and Sulaiman "did homage and were encompassed with favours".

99 Ibid. Humayun stayed in this meadow only 2 miles away from Kabul to supervise the arrangements of the army.

100 Ibid., p. 544.

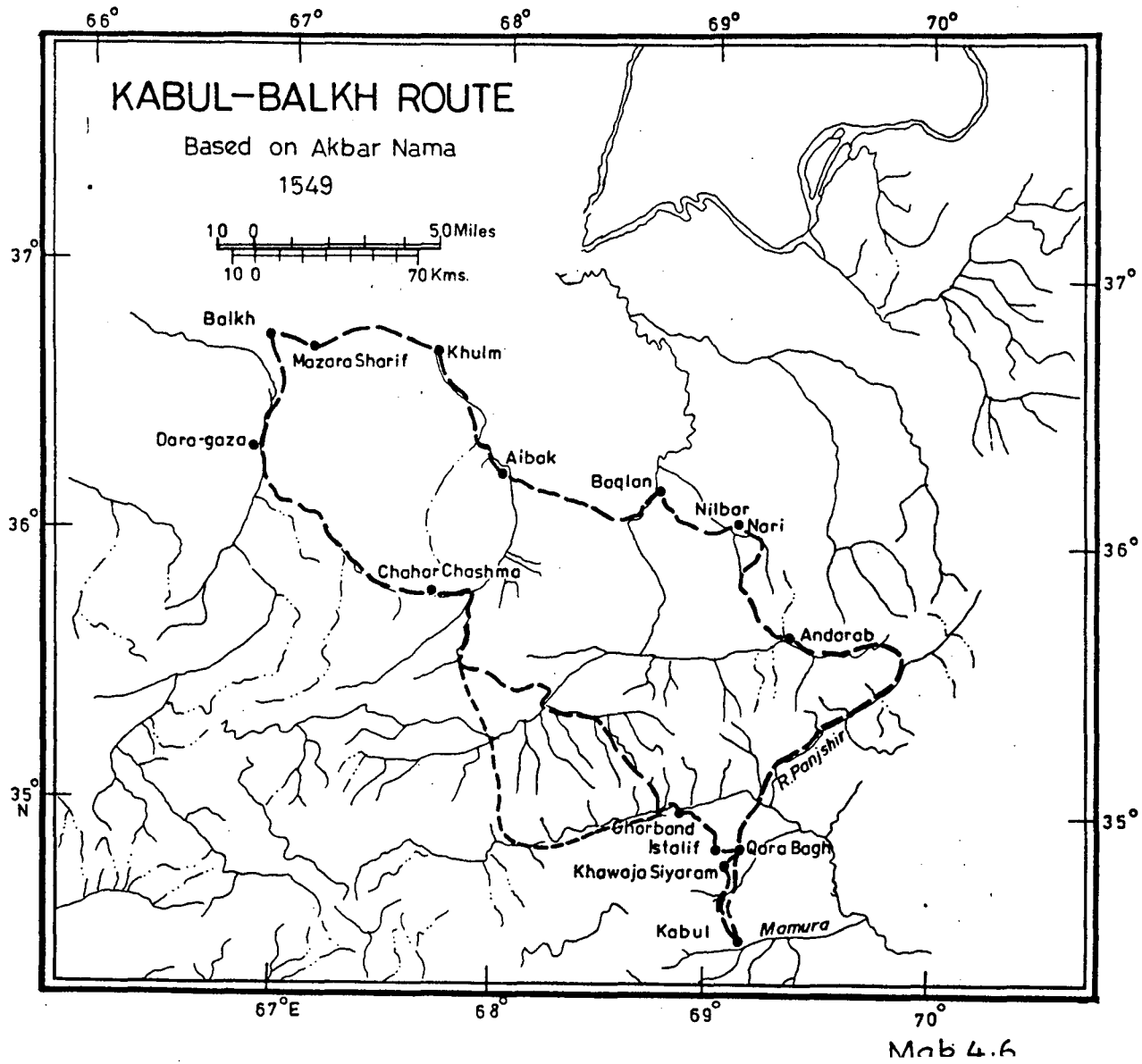
101 Ibid. Humayun must have followed the route along the Panjshir river to reach Andarab through the pass of Khawak.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 From Narin, three roads lead to three important regions of the period. One road leads to Badakhshan, another to Balkh and the third one to Kabul. Humayun travelled through all of them during his expedition to Balkh and Badakhshan from Kabul.

105 AN, I, p. 544. The location of Nilbar plain is not shown in any of the maps, consulted, but with the help of discription its approximate location is shown in Map 4.6.


KABUL–BALKH ROUTE
Based on Akbar Nama
1549
10 0 50 Miles
10 0 70 Kms.
66°
67°
68°
69°
70°
37°
36°
35° N
67° E
Balkh
Mazara Sharif
Khulm
Dara-gaza
Aibak
Baqlan
Nilbar
Nari
Chahar Chashma
Andarab
R. Panjshir
Ghorband
Istalif
Qara Bagh
Khawaja Siyaram
Kabul
Mamura

Map 4.6

Here at Sulaiman's request, Ibrahim was permitted to go to Badakhshan so that he might protect the country and look after the local army.[106]

From the neighbourhood of Baqlan,[107] Mirza Hindal and Sulaiman and a number of other experienced men were sent on in advance to "set free from the Uzbeks the town of Aibak, a dependency of Balkh which is famed for its cultivation, the abundance of its fruits, and the excellence of its climate."[108] Next day the advance force arrived at Aibak.[109] The ruler of Balkh had sent a number of experienced men to guard Aibak, but in two or three days Aibak fell into the hands of Mughals.[110] Though the climate of Aibak and its abundance of fruit were a motive for staying, yet the chief reason was the non-arrival of Kamran.[111] However, two or three days later, they passed Khulm[112] and halted at Baba Shahu. Next day they encomped near the shrine[113] which is a well-known land mark.

106 AN, I, pp. 544-545.

107 Ibid., p. 545. Baqlan is located on the eastern bank of Qunduz river.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid. The advance force must have been sent long after passing Baqlan as it reached on the next day.

110 AN, I, p. 546.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid., p. 547. Khulm lies north-west of Aibak. The route between these two places is mostly along the Zindan river. Khulm, lies about 50 miles on the straight line east of Balkh.

113 This is Mazar-i-Sharif of the modern maps. It is be-

A slight engagement took place between the advanced guards of the Uzbek army and Humayun's forces, which the Uzbeks lost.[114] Next day the Uzbeks again gathered with great force and tried to be victorious. Humayun's army was able to drive the front ranks of the Uzbeks across the canals and into the Outer defence (Kucaband) of Balkh.[115] But Humayun after gaining the initial advantage, had to return without conquering Balkh due to confusions and difference of opinion among his nobles.[116] There was a strong fear among a group of nobles that Kamran, who had not joined Humayun as promised, might have gone to Kabul to capture it. So it was decided that they should go back to Kabul and leave the conquest of Balkh to the future. Humayun aware of this general feeling was helpless and ordered his army to march in the direction of Dara-gaz.[117] "This compulsory retreat to Daragaz, which happened also to be on the route to Kabul,[118] was represented as a return thither, and the march of M. Kamran was on every one's tongue. Men lost heart and departed

Cont'd.. f.n. 113

lieved that it is the shrine of Hazarat Ali. His tomb is said to have been discovered during the reign of Sultan Husain Baiqra.

114 AN, I, p. 547.

115 Ibid., p. 548.

116 Ibid.

117 Location of Dara Gaz is shown in some maps on the Balkhab south of Balkh. Lahori also mentions the route through Dara Gaz from Bamian to Balkh.

118 It seems, Humayun was not interested in taking Dara

in different direction."[119] In these circumstances Humayun must have marched desperately to go back to Kabul.

Three days later Humayun halted at the top of the pass of the Four Springs[120] (Chahar Chashma) and here Muhammad Qali Shaikh Turkman who had hit on the right road heard of the royal party and joined it. Humayun from Chahar Chashma might have taken Abdara pass road,[121] to reach Ghorband after one night's halt.[122] He reached at Khwaja Siyaran[123] on the next night. Thence he went to Qara Bagh and from there to Mamura.[124] From Mamura he went in an auspicious hour to Kabul.[125]

4.1.4 Kabul-Khurasan Route

During the period under study, Khurasan was ruled by Mughals, Uzbek and Persians. Under the rule of Sultan Husain

Cont'd.. f.n. 118

Gaz, Dara Gaz, Ghorband route in normal conditions. He followed this route due to confusion and compulsion.

119 AN, I, p. 549.

120 Humayun must have marched along Balkh-ab to reach upto Dara Suf. From this region he must have moved to a tributary of Zindan river along which Chahar Chashma is located.

121 Humayun was familiar with this route as he had travelled by this route earlier.

122 AN, I, p. 552. They must have marched really fast indeed to reach Ghorband.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid. Dih-i-Mamura is near Kabul.

125 Ibid.

Mirza, who died in 1506, Khurasan became very famous for "its pomp and splender and learning ... and the fame of the Herat and its people was spread over the world".[126] This was the period, when Mughals were being defeated by Uzbeks in their Central Asian homelands. There was an exodus of Mughals towards South of Amu Darya in general, and to Khurasan in particular. Thus in the beginning of the sixteenth century Harat was closely linked with all the Mughal kingdoms of Afghanistan - Kabul, Qandahar, Balkh, Qunduz and Badakhshan.

The links between Kabul and Khurasan were based on political, social and economic compulsions. In fact there were three routes connecting Kabul and Herat i.e. the central, the northern and the southern. The study of these routes, will perhaps provide the best example of the impact of physical factors on the regional linkages.

Of these three, the central route was the most direct between the two famous cities of the medieval period viz. Kabul and Herat at the same latitudes (Kabul 34° 31N, Herat 32° 20N). This route was along the river Hari-Rud, the Valley of which is very narrow. The straight line distance between these two cities is about 450 miles. The Hari-Rud valley route, which was extremely difficult to traverse, even during summers, was only slightly longer than this distance. But it was never recognized as a trade route,

126 T.R., p. 195.

although military expeditions passed that way. It always presented "a geographical problem of great interest".[127] The snow in this region closes all the roads from the middle of November to the middle of February and even after its disappearance the deep clayey tracts are unpassable even for travellers on foot. The travel during the winter season was possible only by seasoned travellers like Babar who though never mentions about the hardships of other routes, describes the problems he faced while travelling through this route. Thus, the most direct route between Kabul and Herat was extremely difficult to traverse, even in favourable climatic conditions.

The route lying north of Hari-Rud Valley, was not as direct as the first one. This route avoids Hindu Kush and reaches Kahmrad after crossing the passes of Gumbazak and Dandan Shikan and joins Balkh-Herat route at Balkh-ab. This route was quite circuitous as it avoids the high altitudes of Band-i-Turkistan and Koh-i-Baba. This route in comparision to Hari-Rud Valley route was less difficult though fairly circuitous.

The third route, connecting Kabul and Herat was longer than the other two routes but it was easiest to travel. This route used to connect almost all the important medieval cities of Afghanistan-Kabul, Ghazni, Qandahar (at times Zarang) Farah and Herat. It was most frequented by the

127 Holdich, Gates, p. 256.

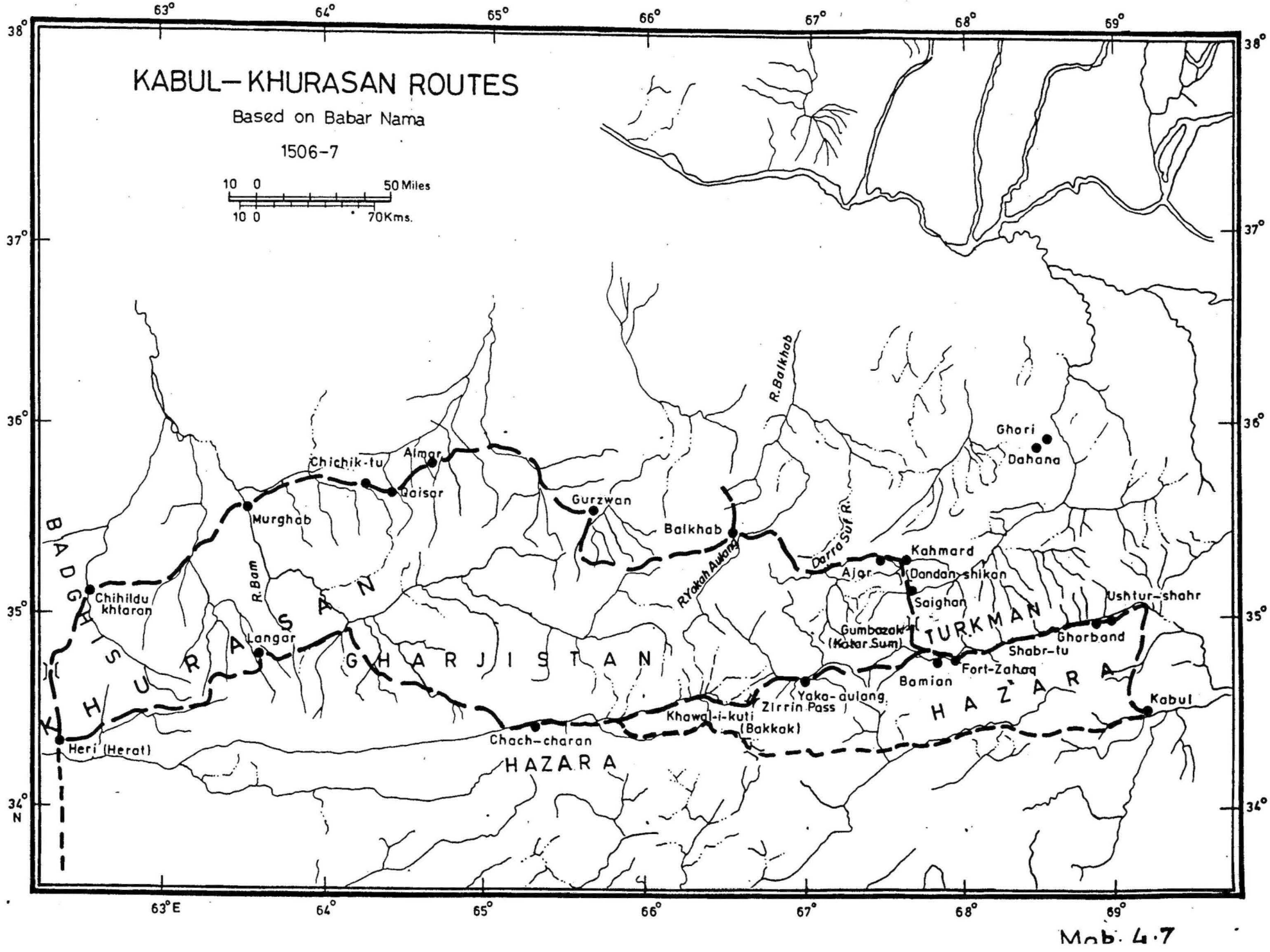
caravans as compared to any other route west of Indus (perhaps Kabul-Attock sector of Kabul-Delhi route became the only exception during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir.) This route has been divided in this study into two sections i.e. Kabul-Qandahar section and Qandahar-Khurasan section and will be discussed at appropriate places. Here we shall discuss only the first two routes between Kabul and Herat.

We have traced both these routes on the basis of their description in Babar Nama. Babar's visit to Khurasan was in response to the call of Sultan Husain Mirza to all the Timurids to join his army and make a united efforts to deal with the Uzbek menace. Babar readily agreed to join them, but on his way he learned that the Sultan was dead. He was also informed that his two sons acting jointly as his successors were eager to carry out the plan. So he pushed on. When he reached their camp he found that the princes were worthless and quite incompetent to lead a campaign of great magnitude.[128] Babar perhaps without informing the Mirzas fled from Khurasan during the winter of 1507, through a little known, dangerously frozen mountainous route, to reach Kabul. This route is described later in this section.

Babar while going towards Khurasan took the usual road upto Ushtur-shahr[129] (see Map 4.7) and there left his baggage

128 Tripathi, p. 14.

129 The common route between Kabul-Ushtur-shahar was through Qarabagh and Charikar.


KABUL–KHURASAN ROUTES
Based on Babar Nama
1506–7
10 0 50 Miles
10 0 70Kms.
63°
64°
65°
66°
67°
68°
69°
38°
37°
36°
35°
34° N
63° E
R. Balkhab
Ghori
Dahana
Chichik-tu
Aimar
Qaisar
Murghab
Gurzwan
Balkhab
R. Bam
R. Yakah Aulang
Darra Suf R.
Kahmard
Ajar
(Dandan-shikan
Saighan
Ushtur-shahr
Gumbazak (Kotar Sum)
Ghorband
Shabr-tu
Fort-Zahaq
Bamian
Yaka-aulang
Zirrin Pass
Khawal-i-kuti (Bakkak)
Kabul
Chihildu khtaran
Langar
Chach-charan
Heri (Herat)
BADGHIS
KHURASAN
GHARJISTAN
TURKMAN
HAZARA
HAZARA

Map. 4.7

to travel light. He reached Fort Zohak[130] by way of Ghorband and Shibr-tu pass. From the Zohak he "crossed the pass of the little dome[131] (Gumbazak-Kutal), trampled through Saighan, went over the Dandanshikan[132] pass and dismounted in the meadow of Kahmard."[133] He stayed in Kahmard for a few days and his army fetched corn from Ghuri and Dahana.[134] Here he got the news of Sultan Husain Mirza's death but it was decided that they should move on to save the reputation of the Timurid dynasty. He later "went up the trough of the Ajar Valley, over to Tup and Mandaghan, crossed the Balkh-water and came out on Saf hill."[135] Babar stayed for a few days in the meadow of Saf-hill[136] and then "went right on

130 The ruins of Zohak occupy the corner of a volcanic wall, which separates a valley so named from that of Bamian.

131 The Gumbazak for is also mentioned by Lahori as the boundary between Balkh and Kabul. From its position on the route, it can be identified with Katar Sum pass of modern maps.

132 Dandan shikan, means "the tooth breaker", which shows the difficulty of the pass. This pass separates Saighan from Kahmaro wood reports its north face to be exceedingly difficult.

133 BN, p. 274.

134 Ibid., p. 295.

135 Ibid.

136 Ibid. The two tributaries of Balkhab are Yakah Aulang and Darra Yusuf. The correct name of the second is however Darra Suf.

through Gurzwan,[137] Almar,[138] Qaisar,[139] Chichik-tu,[140] and [after] Fakhruddin's death into the Bam Valley,[141] one of the dependencies of Badghis".[142&143] From there Babar reached Murgh-ab[144] to meet the Mirzas.

Babar's meetings with the Mirzas were not always cordial. He felt that they were giving him less respect than he deserved. He was also not happy by the decision of the Mirzas "to winter where it was convenient and reassemble next summer in order to repel their foe."[145] They also pursuaded Babar to winter in Khurasan. But he was not interested in staying in Khurasan for a long period as he mentions that "Kabul and Ghazni were full of a turbulent and ill conducted medley of people and hordes, Turks, Mughals, clans, and nomads, Afghans and Hazara. The roads between

137 There is a significant variation in the name of the territory of Gurzwan or Gurziwan. In Holdich's Gates of India it is referred to also as Gurkan, Juzjan, Jurkan, Jirghan and Guzwan (pp. 250-255).

138 Almar is shown in the maps to the south-west of the Maimana.

139 Qaisar is also shown on the modern maps - west of Almar. In fact all the places mentioned in Babar Nama, on this route between Suf-darra and Murgh-ab are along the modern route between Sar-i-Pul and Herat.

140 Chichik-tu lies on the modern maps along the route.

141 Bam river valley is shown on the maps.

142 The territory of Badghis is also shown on the map.

143 BN, p. 296.

144 Beveridge identified it with a fortified place at the crossing of the river by north-east road. Babar when in Dara-i-bam, was on a tributary of Murbh-ab. BN, p. 297, f.n. 1.

145 BN, p. 300.

us and that not yet desirably subjected country of Kabul were, one the mountain road, a month's journey even without delay through snow or other cause[146] - the other, the low - country road, a journey of 40 or 50 days."[147&148]

Babar asked for the permission to leave for Kabul but the Mirzas came to his tent to pursue him to stay in winters in Khurasan.[149] Babar agreed to stay as he was interested in visiting Herat, which according to Babar "had become under (Sulaiman) Husain Mirza, whose orders and efforts had increased its splender and beauty.[150] So from Murgh-ab, Babar reached Herat through Chihil-dukhtaran[151] and Tash-rabat.[152]

146 Babar followed this mountain road i.e. Hari Rud Valley route but it is not possible to ascertain the number of days he took to reach Kabul. He might have reached Kabul in more than a month as the road was covered with thick sheet of snow.

147 It is not clear as to which route Babar refers: the route he followed to reach upto Herat or the route via Qandahar. But in all probability he was referring to the route via Qandahar because he was not sure about the number of days required to reach Kabul through this road. He must have been sure about the route, he followed to reach Herat from Kabul.

148 BN, p. 300.

149 Ibid.

150 Ibid.

151 Chihil-dukhtaran (forty daughters) is shown in the modern maps.

152 According to Beveridge "This may be the Rabat-i-Sanghi of some maps on the road betweem the "forty daughters and Herat, or Babar may have gone out of his direct way to visit Rabat-i-sang-bast, a renowned halting place at the Carfax of the Heri-Tus and Nishapur-Mashhad road." (BN, p. 301, f.n. 1). Probably, Babar must have preferred the direct route to Herat rather than a longer route only to visit Rabat-i-sang.

He stayed in Herat for some time and visited all the places of interest but again his anxiety grew about Kabul. His uneasyness was also due to the inconsiderate behaviour of the Mirzas, who pressed Babar to stay in Herat but provided him no winter-quarters nor made any winter - arrangements for him.[153]

Thus, on the pretext of finding winter quarters they got out of the town on December 24th 1505 and went near Badghis. They moved so slowly that after many marches they could reach only Langar of Mir Ghiyas.[154] Some of his retainers joined him there while some others reached Kabul 20 days or a month later,[155] [156] than Babar. At the Langar, they discussed which road they should take for the return journey to Kabul. Most of them agreed that since it was winter, the mountain-road is difficult and dangerous, the Qandahar road, though a little longer is safe and easy.[157] But Qasim Beg vetoed the idea and so they took the mountain

153 BN, p. 307.

154 "The alms house or convent" according to Beveridge "was founded here in Timur's reign." (BN, p. 307 f.n. 1). Langar lies north east of Qadis on the road between Qala Nau and Qaisar.

155 Babar reached Yaka-aulang from Herat in about 50 days (Dec. 24, 1506 - Feb. 14, 1507) and might have reached Kabul only after 10 more days. But his retainers still took 30 days more to reach Kabul. Either they started late or took the longer route (which obviously they did).

156 BN, p. 307.

157 Ibid., p. 308.

road.[158]

From the Langar of Mir Ghiyas they reached Chach-Charan[159] (Chaghcharan), guiding past the border villages of Gharjistan. The route between these two places is described by Babar as follows: "From the alms house to Gharjistan was an unbroken sheet of snow, it was deeper further on,[160] near Chach-Charan itself it was above the horse's knees."[161] Babar bought the whole of Zunnun Beg's[162] store of provision.

The march after Chach-Charan was still more difficult as Babar mentions "A march or two further on, the snow was very deep, being above the stirrup, indeed in many places the horse's feet did not touch the ground."[163] Their guide

158 Ibid. Holdich mentions that "from time immemorial efforts have been made to reach Kabul by the direct route from Herat which is indicated by the remarkable lie of Hari Rud Valley... From Herat eastwards, past Obeh as far as Daolatyar, there is no great difficulty to be overcome by the traveller, although the route diverges from the main valley for a space ... But winter here is severe." The difficulty of the route, travelling in winter is clear from Babar's account.

159 From the Lauger to Hari-rund Valley, Babar's route may well have been the track which, passes through the villages on the southern border of Gharjidan and goes to Ahangaran.

160 The altitudes in this part of mountain range are higher than 10,000 feet at many places and in the month of January the journey must be impossible.

161 BN, p. 308.

162 Zunnun Beg was a noble of Herat.

163 BN, p. 308.

had lost the road and could not lead them. To find the road they had to dismount and clear it. Babar further writes about the difficulties of the route in the following words. "One day the snow was so deep and the way so uncertain that we could not go on; there being no help for it, back we turned, dismounted where there was fuel, picked 60 or 70 good men and sent them down the valley in our tracks to fetch any one so ever of the Hazara, wintering in the valley bottom[164] who might show us the road."[165]

They, however were not able to bring any guide and were forced once again to try their luck by taking the road by which they had come back. Babar, who "combined the vigour and hardihood of the Turks and Mougols with the dash and coverage of the Persians [and who was] a fine fencer a good archer and superb horseman",[166] writes about the hardships of this road in these words, "much misery and hardship were endured in those few days, more than at any time of my life."[167]

They went on for nearly a week, trampling down the snow and not getting forward more than two or three miles a day. They used to go forward for 7 or 8 yards, stamping the snow down at each step. The man leading would then stand still, exhausted by the labour, and another would go for-

164 The Hazaras and Turkman Hazaras, used to come down to the river valleys of this region during winter season.

165 BN, p. 308.

166 Tripathi, p. 55.

167 BN, p. 309.

ward.[168] In this way, they got out of that place in three or four days to a cave known as Khawali-quti (Blessed cave) below the Zirrin pass.[169]

That night the snow fell in such an amazing blizzard with cutting winds that every man feared for his life. The storm became extremely violent by the time they reached the cave but Babar did not go into the cave because he thought "some of my men in snow and storm, I in the comfort of a warm house! the whole horde outside in misery and pain, I inside sleeping at ease! That would be far from a man's act, quite another matter than comradeship! Whatever hardship and wretchedness there is, I will face; what strong men stand I will stand; for as the Persian proverb says, to die with friends is a nuptial."[170] This was indeed, the character of Babar, which helped him in establishing the Mughal Empire in India later on.

Next day the snow and wind having ceased they made an early start and got to the pass again stamping down the road in the snow. About the route Babar writes "The proper road seems to make a detour up the flank on the mountains and to go over higher up, by what is understood to be called the Zirrin-pass. Instead of taking that road we went straight-

168 Ibid., p. 310.

169 Zirrin pass, lies above the Bakkak-pass and carries the regular road for Yaka, aulang.

170 BN, p. 310.

up the valley-bottom."[171] It was night before we reached the farther side of the (Bakkak) pass and we spent the night there in the mouth of the valley."[172] Next morning they moved down the valley, by bad slopes and sudden falls, knowing and seeing it could not be the right way. By the evening they got out of the valley. About this journey he makes an interesting observation. "Though for a few days we had suffered greatly through the depth of the snow, yet its depth in the end, enabled us to reach our destination ... why? How otherwise should we have traversed those pathless slopes and sudden falls?"[173]

They reached Yaka-aulang[174] where people welcomed them and provided them "warm houses, fat sheep, grass and horse-corn, water without stint, ample wood and dried dung

171 According to Beveridge 'The right and wrong roads are shown by the Indian Survey and Military maps. The right road turns off from the wrong one at Daulat-yar, to the right, and mounts diagnally along the south rampart of the Hari-rud valley to the Zirrin-pass which lies above the Bakkak-pass and carried the regular road for Yaka-aulang." BN, p. 310, f.n. 2. Possibly, Babar, due to higher altitudes of Zirrin pass was avoiding it and so moved on the unusual path through the valley, which was covered with thick snow. Another question is that why from the neighbourhood of Bakkak, they did not go via Besud and Unai passes directly to Kabul? Possibly this route was not known to them as during the medieval period Bamian-Kabul route became very common due to the fact that Bamian became a more important Buddhist centre than even Kabul (Holdich, Gates of India, p. 262).

172 BN, p. 310.

173 Ibid., p. 311.

174 The Yaka-aulang or Yakulang Valley is a continuation of the Band-i-Amir, or river of Balkh; between the

for fires!"[175] They stayed there one day happy of heart and easy of mind and marched 2 yighach (10-12 m) next day, and dismounted. They went on, through Bamina, crossed by Shibr-tu and dismounted before reaching Janglik.[176]

The Turkman Hazaras were wintering outside their own valley, on the Ghorband road. They were the perennial highway men on the only pass to the north which did not close entirely in winter.[177] Babar drove them out of the road, with difficulty and went to Timur Beg's Langar.[178] Riding next dawn from the Langar they dismounted in Ushtur Shahr and finally reached Kabul via Zammayakhshi and Minar.

It is relevant to note here that the present Kabul-Herat route map of Afghanistan shows a close resemblance with Babar's map of the same route. The main difference between Babar's route and the present direct route (Hari Rud Valley) is that the later did not go to Bamina. This is perhaps due to the decrease in the significance of Bamian during the recent past.

Cont'd.. f.n. 174

Yaka-aulang and Bamian Valley is a high flat watershed (Holdich, Gates of India, p. 257).

175 "It seems from the way Babar was received at Yakah Aulang, while coming from Herat, that it was then in the principality of Kabul" (Habib, Atlas, Notes, p.2).

176 BN, p. 311.

177 For the Hazaras also see Kabul-Bamian route. Babar prior to his visit to Herat raided Hazaras wintering in Bamian Valley and adjoining areas.

178 It is not possible to identify this Langar.

4.1.5 Qandahar-Khurasan Route

Herat, the capital of Khurasan "was but a gateway to Kandahar and to Kabul in the days when Kabul was India."[179] The Herat-Qandahar route remained important throughout the medieval period as it used to connect Herat with Kabul by the easiest road. Apart from this, there was a constant flow of traffic between India and Persia via Qandahar and Multan. The traffic from southern Persia also joined it, on or near Farah. It is, however, not possible to ascertain the volume of the traffic on this route.

Between Herat and Qandahar, the straight line distance is about 280 miles, but there was no direct route across the intervening wilderness of Taimani hills occupied by the Hazaras of Chahar Aimak.[180] During the reign of the Ghori monarchs,[181] an earlier trade route which was well known and much frequented had lost all its significance. Ghor itself was among the dead cities of Asia.

Reconstruction of Qandahar-Khurasan route is based on the account of Humayun's march from Persia to Qandahar, in 1545, when he was coming with the Persian soldiers to

179 Holdich, Gates of India, p. 526.

180 Ibid., p. 87.

181 Holdich mentions that "during its later history is is clear that Ghur was often governed from Herat, but in earlier medieval days Ghur possessed a distinct capital and a separate entity amongst Afghan Kingdoms." Gates of India, p. 219.

conquer Qandahar, which was in possession of his brother. Unfortunately he did not start his travel from Herat but reached Herat-Qandahar road below Farah - near Helmand. However, the whole route has been reconstructed with the help of the accounts of his earlier journey which he made while he was going to Persia to seek help from the Shah. The description of both of these journeys is available in Akbar Nama[182] and Jauhar.[183] The details of the route, however, are limited due to the lack of author's knowledge of the region. Moreover, the region through which the route passed was hardly settled.

The route which Humayun followed between Helmand and Herat is as follows:

Humayun crossed Helmand and halted at a lake (see Map 4.8) into which its waters flow.[184] There he spent some days in that pleasant country. Thence he proceeded to Sistan.[185] Humayun was interested in visiting Herat so he took the road by the fort of Uk.[186] When Humayun came

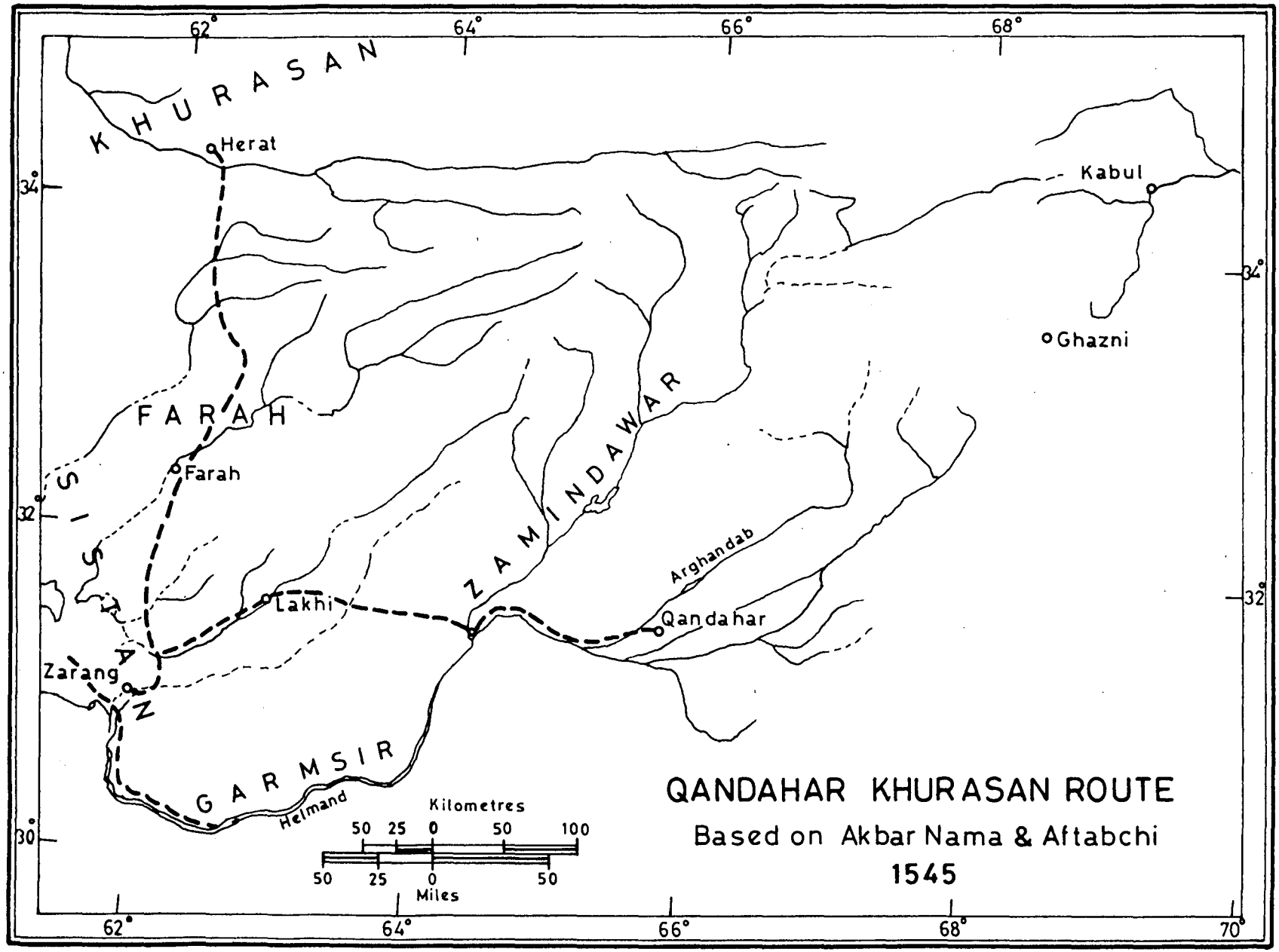
182 AN, I, pp. 415-434 and 457-459,

183 Jauhar, pp. 90-93 and 113-114.

184 AN, I, p. 415. This lake is known as the Lake Hamun or Sea of Zaranq.

185 Ibid. Jauhar, p. 91. Humayun had already reached the Sistan so it might be that from the Lake he proceeded towards the city of Sistan. Raverty speaks of Zarang as being called the city of Sistan.

186 It is not possible to find out Uk in the modern maps. Reverty in the translation of Tabqat-i-Nasiri locates it between Farah and Zaranj and mentions that it has been in ruins for many years. T.N.,pp. 34 and 1122 fn.


62°
64°
66°
68°
70°
34°
32°
30°
KHURASAN
Herat
Kabul
Ghazni
FARAH
Farah
SISTAN
ZAMINDAWAR
Arghandab
Lakhi
Qandahar
Zarang
GARMSIR
Helmand
Kilometres
50 25 0 50 100
50 25 0 50
Miles
QANDAHAR KHURASAN ROUTE
Based on Akbar Nama & Aftabchi
1545

Map 4·8

near Farah he got the message that the King of Persia regarded his advent as a great gain and was delighted at it.[187] Between Farah and Herat at every stage one of the nobles and grandees of Khurasan came out to meet him and waited upon him.[188]

Humayun, while proceeding towards Qandahar from Persia first reached Tabas,[189] or Tarq[190] and from there marched towards Sistan. He stayed there for five days.[191] Perhaps it was the same place where he stayed for a few days while going to Persia (Herat). From Sistan he moved towards Garmsir, where Mir Abdul Hai of Garmsir came out of the fort of Laki[192] and submitted.[193] A number of devoted men were sent to take Bast or Bist[194] which belonged to the Garmsir and appertained to Qandahar.[195] The fort was besieged and captured. From Bist they moved to Qandahar and with some difficulty conquered it in March 1545.[196]

187 AN, I, p. 432.

188 Ibid.

189 Jauhar, p. 113.

190 AN, I, p. 447.

191 Jauhar, p. 113.

192 Laki is on the eastern bank of Helman river and at present is a small settlement.

193 AN, I, p. 447.

194 Qala Bist is located near the confluence of the Arghandab with the Helmand.

195 AN, I, p. 457.

196 Ibid., p. 459.

It is clear from the above description that the route followed by Humayun was not the most direct one between Herat and Qandahar. Humayun never travelled, directly between these two places. In fact, on both occasions he went via Sistan. This was not necessary when travelling directly between Herat and Qandahar. The direct route between these towns must have been closer to the present national highway, leaving Farah to the west and approaching Qandahar by Washir and Girishk.

References to the Herat-Qandahar route in Babar Nama and Tarikh-i-Rashidi do not provide any detailed account of the route. According to Babar, when he was planning to go back to Kabul from Herat during the winter season he was told that "the Qandahar road though little longer, is safe and easy."[197] But Babar was dissuaded by his nobles to go by this relatively longer route. The Qandahar road became unsafe after a short while when the Uzbeks occupied Khurasan. Mirza Haider in Tarikh-i-Rashidi mentions that his father was planning to go for Haj and to do so he reached Qandahar from Kabul. From Qandahar he moved towards Farah where he was told that the "high roads and passes were in the dangerous state, being obstructed and even closed."[198]

It has been mentioned earlier (section 2.2.1) that

197 Ibid., p. 308. At another place Babar mentions that "the road from Kabul into Khurasan passes through Qandahar; is quite level, without a pass", BN, p. 205.

198 TR, p. 201.

the town of Qandahar emerged as leading trade centre, only during the late medieval period, though the Qandahar region remained important from the ancient times. The importance of Herat-Qandahar route increased tremendously during the period of Early Mughals after the emergence of the Kabul-Ghazni-Qandahar axis.

4.1.6 Kashmir-Maryul[199] (Ladakh) Route

There are references to prove that Kashmir had trade links with the surrounding territories through well known though extremely difficult pass-routes. During the period under study Mirza Haidar, Babar's cousin, travelled extensively in the territories which surround Kashmir. He not only conquered Kashmir but also Maryul (Ladakh or Leh re-tion) Nubra, Baltistan etc. In fact he reached upto Lhasa or Utsang. The ancient route between Kashmir and Ladakh[200] (Maryul) had also been traversed and recorded by Mirza Haidar. Though the description of the route is very scanty

199 Maryul or Ladakh region is referred to as Tibbat-i-Buzurg or Great Tibet by Abul Fazl. This name was not known to Mirza Haidar, who uses the name Maryul, specifically for the region of the Indus Valley and Ladakh Range as Nubra is considered lying outside it, though within Tibet, Sheh (Shay) was the capital of Maryul at the time of Mirza Haidar, though in 17th century Leh became the capital of the region.

200 This route at present is a national highway and was traversed by many European travellers. It is not necessary to discuss it in detail as the road between Srinagar and Leh is well known to us. The distance between Srinagar and Leh is 259 miles.

yet it indicates that this route was well known to the local people. The use of this and other passes of the region was limited due to difficult terrain, extremely cold climate and the subsistance economy of the surrounding territories.

Mirza Haidar left Nubra to conquer Kashmir with the help of the army sent by the Sultan Said Khan and joined his own forces in the district of Maryul. From Maryul he set off by forced marches, in the direction of Kashmir.[201] They passed through the well established route between Maryul and Kashmir (see Map 4.9). "On the road chief men of Tibet submitted and joining us, greatly increased the number of our army"[202] mentions Mirza. They employed as their guides some of the Balti Tibetans who lived in the Valleys of Kashmir.

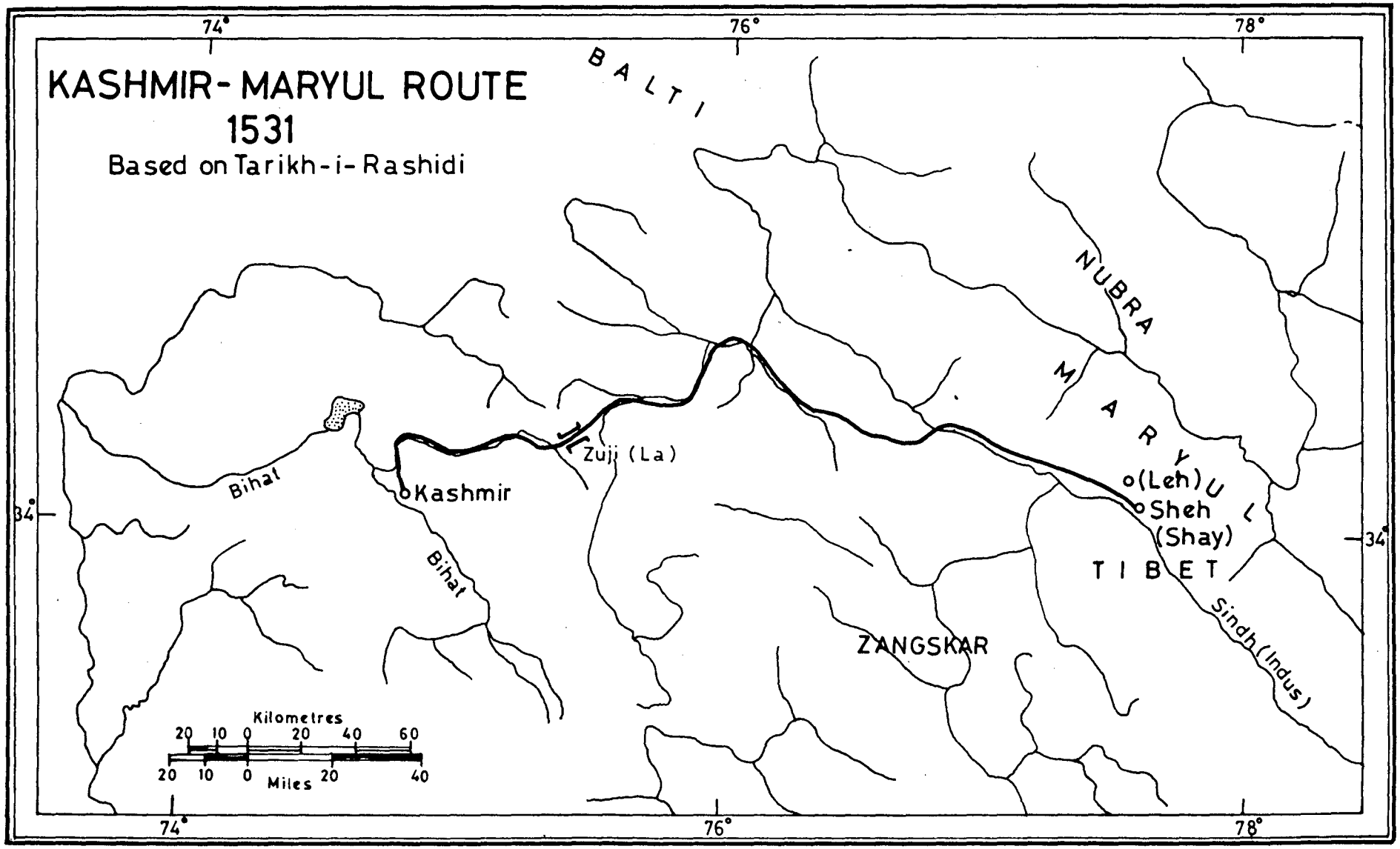
They crossed the pass of Kashmir, known as Zoji(la).[203] The Chief of Kashmir had already heard of the approach of their army and were occupying the narrow defile of Lar.[204]

201 TR, p. 423.

202 Ibid.

203 This pass is called Zoji la by the Tibetans and the Ladakhis. By others it is commonly called the Dras Pass. The height of the pass is 11,300 feet. An important characteristic of it is the there is great rise to this level from the Kashmir side (2000 feet in a miles) but very slight fall (1000 feet in 20 miles) on the Ladakh side. The road is fit for laden horses during summer, but during 4-5 winter months from December the snow on the Zoji La pass makes it impossible but men and make it difficult for them (Drew., F., p. 532).

204 The narrow and difficult defile mentioned immediately


KASHMIR- MARYUL ROUTE
1531
Based on Tarikh-i-Rashidi
BALTI
NUBRA
MARYUL
Zuji (La)
Kashmir
Bihat
Bihat
(Leh)
Sheh
(Shay)
TIBET
ZANGSKAR
Sindh (Indus)
Kilometres
20 10 0 20 40 60
20 10 0 Miles 20 40
74°
76°
78°
34°

Map 4.9

Mirza after crossing the pass of Zuji had sent forward 400 men, "when they reached the narrow defile, they found it occupied by the Kashmir army, a few of them were stationed as outposts at its upper end.[205] Soldiers of Mirza Haidar's army made a charge on these pickets and forced them to flee. On the second day after this affair they alighted in Kashmir.[206]

4.1.7 Kashmir-Badakhshan Route via Maryul

The route linking Kashmir with Badakhshan and passing through the heart of Himalayas and Pamirs was indeed very unusual. This route was perhaps being used by the local people for short distance travel. Mirza Haidar in despair, however, decided to travel on the route which mostly passes through permanently frozen mountain ranges. Though the route passes through north of Karakoram range,[207] altitudes are usually higher than 15,000 feet. The route commonly used by the travellers going from Ladakh (Maryul) to Badakhshan during the sixteenth century was through Kashghar. Mirza Haidar mentions that no one among them had ever travelled from Tibet to Badakhshan excepting by way of Kashghar.

Mirza Haidar's decision to travel through this vaguely known route was based on the information he gathered from Jahan Shah one of his retainers who had deserted him and

205 TR, p. 423.

206 Ibid.

207 For Karakoram range see section 2.1.1.1.

fled to Yarkand. Jahan Shah "once related that he had heard, from the people of the mountain districts of Yarkand, that from a place called Tagh Nak, there was a by-path leading to the Pamir's of Badakhshan." Mirza Haidar, however, started with one question in mind, "can one travel by a road one has never seen and knows not?"[208]

Mirza Haidar moved off[209] with twenty-seven men. They suffered much from want of supplies, from the weakness of the beast of burden, from the difficulty of the road and from the cold. Mirza mentions that "although it was now the season of Virgo, the cold was so severe, that a place we came to, called Kara Kuram,[210] (see Map 4.10) as the sun sank, the river (which is a large one) froze over so completely, that wherever one might break the ice, not a drop of water was forth coming."[211] They could not get water throughout the night. The route upto the Karakoram was known to them as it was on the route to Yarkand, which they frequently traversed. One of them said "I remember once noticing a spring at about half a farsakh's distance from here."[212]

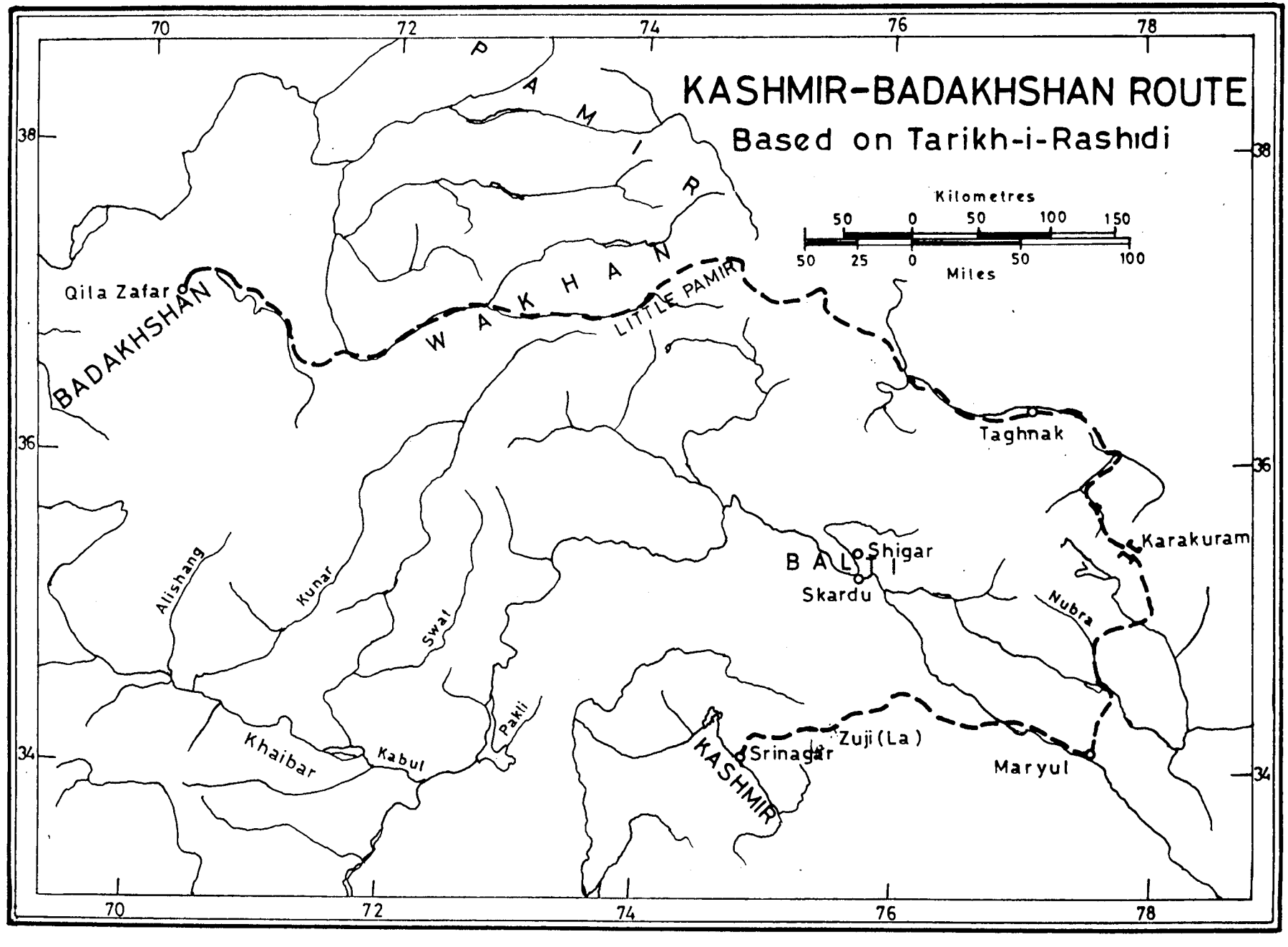
208 TR, p. 465.

209 Mirza Haidar started from Maryul (Ladakh) instead of Kashmir.

210 Kara Koram pass lies at the eastern end of the Kara Koram range. This pass is at the altitude of 18,290'.

211 TR, p. 465. This is common in high altitude regions. It is due to the significant difference between the temperatures of day and night.

212 TR, p. 465.


KASHMIR-BADAKHSHAN ROUTE
Based on Tarikh-i-Rashidi
Kilometres
50 0 50 100 150
50 25 0 50 100
Miles
70
72
74
76
78
38
36
34
PAMIR
WAKHAN
LITTLE PAMIR
Qila Zafar
BADAKHSHAN
Taghnak
Karakuram
Shigar
BALTI
Skardu
Nubra
Alishang
Kunar
Swat
Pakli
Khaibar
Kabul
KASHMIR
Srinagar
Zuji (La)
Maryul

Map 4.10

They got water by making a hole in the middle of the ice. Due to the cold, one of the strongest of all the beasts died from lockjaw as she could not drink the water.

They reached Tag Nak[213] with difficulty and with much hardship. At this point one of Mirza's associate Iskandar Sultan asked for his permission to leave. Mirza Haidar tried to dissuade him but, "he being worn out with the suffering of journey and the misfortune in Tibet"[214] insisted on his demands. Ultimately Mirza Haidar allowed him to go with four attendants. A few of their horses had become useless from want of shoes but fortunately they killed a wild kutas or Yak. They used its skin to make coverings for the feet of their disabled horses and its meat they ate and carried away, as much as was possible.[215]

From this information which Mirza Haidar had gathered from Jahan Shah, he reckoned that it would be another six days before they should come to a cultivated region; but on

213 It appears on some maps as Takanak, and is a spot on Yark and river just below Kulamuldi where the track to Kugiar and Yarkand leaves the valley of that river. According to Elias, "Mirza Haidar's party branched of from the direct route to Yarkand at Ak-Tagh, then followed down the Yarkand river past Kulan-uldi, Taghnak etc...." TR, p. 464, f.n. 1. But it is probable that they did not go to Ak-Tagh as there is another route through the valley of Raskam river, on the west of Ak-Tagh route. On the modern maps the routes to Badakhshan and Yarkand bifurcate at the point which Mirza Haidar mentions. Mirza Haidar might have traversed this route upto Tagh-Nak.

214 TR, p. 465.

215 Ibid., p. 466.

the third day after their separation from Iskandar Sultan, at about breakfast time they met with some people who received them with great cordiality.[216] They told Mirza Haidar that their valley is known as Raskam[217] and that from here to the Pamir[218] (Little Pamir) was five days journey. When they arrived at the place (Raskam) all of them took a rest, after the trials of so many years.[219]

Raskam was regarded by its people as having been under the rulers of Kashghar for four hundred years.[220] They took care of everything and tried to provide all possible comfort to the fugitive prince of the dynasty. Mirza Haidar mentions their hospitality as follows "they took over all our broken horses and gave us strong ones in their stead... They supplied us in the most hospitable manner, with such meat and drink as they had to give At every place we

216 The difference in the time mentioned by Jahan Shah and the time taken by Mirza may be due to the speed with which the party might have been travelling. It seems Mirza's party was travelling with double speed on this difficult tract.

217 Raskam is a tributary of Yarkand river. Raskam range lies north of the Valley of Raskam. Considering the description of the TR it seems that the Valley of Raskam was inhabited by the people with some resources. The name of the capital is not mentioned by Mirza Haidar.

218 Pamir actually refers to the high and relatively flat valleys between the mountain ranges, where the Kirghiz graze their flocks. The travel in the Pamir, which begins east of Qala Panja is difficult even with the hardy yak used by the Kirghiz nomads.

219 TR, p. 466.

220 Ibid.

came to, I was joined by all the men, women and children of the district."[221] In this manner Mirza Haidar was escorted to Pamir or rather Little Pamir in seven days time.[222]

When they reached Wakhan,[223] which was the frontier (Sar-hadd) of Badakhshan, they met a follower of Rashid Sultan and gave him some Turki verses which Mirza had composed. From Wakhan they reached Badakhshan and passed the winter there in perfect comfort.[224]

The description of this route indicates that it was very circuitous and nearly impossible to travel because of the distances. Mirza Haidar at one place mentions that the difficulties of travelling in the mountainous regions are due to the scarcity of provisions and the terrible severity of the cold, while the roughness of the paths is almost beyond conception. Thus one can understand that in the presence of easier routes, between Kashmir and Badakhshan which were via Pakli, Attock and Kabul, this route remained little known and unfrequented through out history.

221 Ibid.

222 Ibid., p. 467.

223 "Two relatively wide valleys exist in Wakhan: one at Ishkashim (two miles across, three miles long); another at Qala Panja (less than a mile in all direction)", Dupree, L., Afghanistan, p. 6.

224 They might have stayed at Qila Zafar, the capital of Badakhshan.

4.1.8 Kashmir-Kishtwar Route

The territory of Kishtwar, which lay on the south-east of the Kashmir Valley was an independent state during the times of Early Mughals, prior to its subjugation during the times of Jahangir (1620). Even after defeating and capturing the Raja of Kishtwar, Jahangir did not include the territory in the Mughal Empire. However, Kishtwar became a suzereign state of Mughals. Though Kashmir is separated from Kishtwar by the Pir Panjal range, this region had developed linkages through its passes.

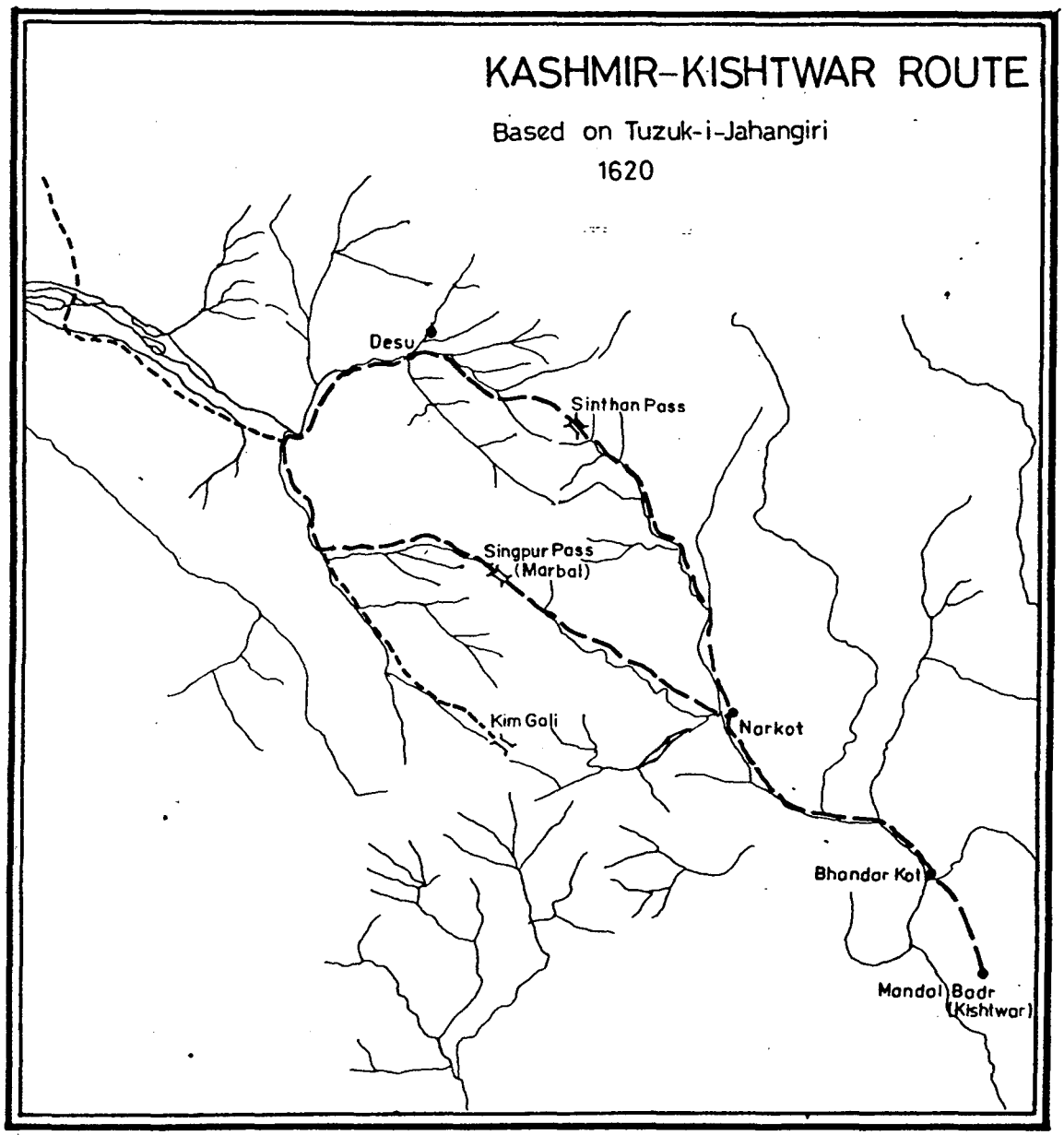
The routes between Kashmir and Kishtwar have been described in Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.[225] This description is based on the expedition of Dilawar Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, to Kishtwar in 1620. The route between Srinagar and Desu is not given in the Tuzuk as the routes in the valley of Kashmir have been well established. According to Jahangir, Dilawar Khan started from Srinagar with a force of "10,000 horse and foot, to conquer Kishtwar".[226] He left one of his brother with a force at Desu,[227] (see Map 4.11) which is near the Kotal (Pass) of Pir Panjal.[228] He divided his

225 T.J., II, pp. 135-140.

226 Ibid., p. 135.

227 Ibid. The village is situated on the right bank of the Brinnar stream at the foot of the western slope of Chingam (Sinthan) pass.

228 Ibid. From Desu they could have reached Kishtwar at least through three passes e.g. Sinthan or Chingan, Singpur or Marbal and Kin Gali.


KASHMIR-KISHTWAR ROUTE
Based on Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
1620
Desu
Sinthan Pass
Singpur Pass
(Marbal)
Kim Gali
Narkot
Bhandar Kot
Mandol Badr
(Kishtwar)

Map 4.11

forces at Desu into three divisions. He himself marched with a force by the road of Sanginpur[229] and send his son Jalal, with a force as an advanced guard to his own force. The road between Desu and Kishtwar was not suitable for the horses",[231] but by way of precaution, Dilawar took some with him but left nearly all his sipahi's horses behind, and sent them to Kashmir (Srinagar).

The forces of Jalal and Jamal which had been sent by two different roads reached Narkot,[232] one of the enemy's strongholds. But forces of Kishtwar at Narkot could resist the power of Mughal forces and were forced to retreat. The army then moved on to the Maru river.[233] There a battle was fought in which the Raja's forces were defeated. After this defeat, Raja crossed the river "by a bridge[234] and stopped

229 Ibid. It is Singpur pass. The pass on the Pir Panjal range is located at an altitude of 11,550 feet above sea level. It is also known as Marbal.

230 Ibid. Jalal must have followed the Sinthan pass route which is the most direct between Desu and Kishtwar.

231 The routes and more so, the bridges on the rivers in this area were not precticable for the horses.

232 T.J., II, p. 136. The village is situated near the top of spur above the right bank of Kidar Khol stream.

233 Ibid. Maru is tributary of Chandra Bhaga river.

234 It was not possible for the Mughal army to cross the river without the bridge. Jahangir gives, in detail, the description of the attempts made by the soldiers of Dilawar Khan to cross the river.

at Bhandarkot, which is on the other side". The forces of the Raja made the crossing of the river impossible for the Mughals by breaking down the planking of the bridge.[235] It took Mughal forces months to cross the Chenab river by constructing a Zampah,[236] secretly during the night.

The Raja was made prisoner. All his people fled. Dilawar Khan crossed the river with the victorious army and went to Mandal Badr,[237] which was the capital of the country, and was 3 koss from the river.

4.2 THE ROUTES OF FIRST ORDER

In the absence of consistant information and date on the flow of traffic and goods on the routes during the period of the Early Mughals, it is not possible to use any quantitative method to ascertain the route hierarchy in the region. But with the help of the information collected, it is possible to state with some certainty that the areas of attraction or perennial nuclear regions, because of favourable physical conditions, were more suitable for the development of agriculture. As has already been mentioned, favourable conditions helped the communities living in these

235 T.J., II, p. 137.

236 Ibid. For Rope bridges please see the section 3.3.1.1.

237 Ibid., p. 138. There is no place of this name at present. The location of the Mandal Badr seems to tally with the location of the settlement of Mughal Maidan, present town of Kishtwar lies further south.

areas to produce more than their own consumption and hence created some surplus which led to development of industries and allied activities in these regions.

Relatively speaking, the areas of attraction were economically better off and their direrSified socio-physical base led them to produce different commodities in varying quantities. This disperate production of various commodities coupled with the existence of surplus and deficit regions led to the establishment of close links between the areas of attraction. Apart from these economic reasons some political and administrative factors also necessitated the loser links between these areas of attraction which also became administrative regions by this time. As has already been observed the frontiers of Mughal Empire; Kabul and Qandahar were exposed to powerful Uzbeks and Persian. To keep them under control, it was necessary for the Mughals to keep closer contacts with these regions. It was because of this region that Akbar and later Jahangir stayed in Lahor for years instead of living in Delhi or Agra.

Thus there is strong evidence to posit that the areas of attraction during the period under study were closely linked with one another and the routes connecting them may be called as the routes of the First Order. Two routes of this region may be put into this category e.g., Kabul-Delhi/Agra route and Kabul-Qandahar route. The Kabul-Delhi/Agra route was connecting most of the areas of attraction of the

period. Starting from west, it connected the Kabul region with the Nagarhara or the Jalalabad region, then the Gandhara or the Peshawar region and then across the Indus, the Upper Indus Plains or the Punjab region which in their turn were closely linked with Delhi-Agra axis.

The other route i.e. between Kabul-Qandahar was in a way the extension of Delhi/Agra-Kabul route but Qandahar remained with the Mughals for only a brief period and the control of the Mughals over this route was never complete. The Kabul-Qandahar route passed through the Ghazni region, which with all its economic limitation has been identified as an area of attraction, mainly due to its location.

4.2.1 Kabul-Delhi/Agra Route

The Kabul-Delhi or Kabul-Agra route has been the most important route in North-West India, during the period of the Early Mughals, due to obvious reasons. This route linked Kabul, the suba headquarter as well as a commercial and trade centre of prime significance, with the changing capitals of Hindustan and attracted caravans from all the surrounding countries. During the period under study the capital of India changed many times. Delhi was the capital of Hindustan for short durations during the periods of Babar, Humayun and Akbar. Agra and Fatehpur Sikri became the capitals during the period of Akbar who finally made Lahor, his capital city during his stay in it between 1585-

1598. Lahor also remained the Mughal capital of Hindustan during the period of Jahangir. Thus, the Kabul-Delhi/Agra route remained most strategic throughout the period under study.

This long route may be divided into three sectors for a better understanding. Though the division is superficial but it gives an idea of the basis of the changing fortunes of trade and communication on this route. For instance Kabul-Attock sector of this route in many ways was different, from the Attock-Lahor or Lahor-Delhi/Agra sectors of the routes. Physically speaking the Kabul river basin, through which Kabul-Attock sector passes is a thoroughly rugged region. The Attock-Lahor sector, mostly passes through Potwar Plateau, while Lahor-Delhi/Agra sector passes through a dead plain. Moreover, during most of the period under study the Kabul-Attock sector of the route was not under the direct control of the Kings of Hindustan. Since this whole route was not under the control of one ruler, its administration and maintenance was never satisfactory.

Babar knew the Kabul-Attock sector of this route very well as he was ruling the Kabul region since 1504. During the times of Humayun, when he was the King of Hindustan, the Kabul region and hence the KabulAttock sector of the route was under the control of his brother Kamran. After the defeat of Humayun, the Kabul-Attock sector of the route remained under the rule of the Mughals i.e. Kamran and

Humayun, though Hindustan was not under their control. After the death of Humayun, Akbar's brother, Mirza Hakim, got the Kabul region and it was only after the death of Mirza Hakim in 1585 that the whole route came into the effective control of Akbar.

It is interesting to note that Akbar immediately though unofficially shifted his capital to Lahor to take care of this route and to consolidate and conquer the territories of Sind, Kashmir, Balochistan and Qandahar. He returned to Agra in 1598 only after consolidating the North-West India and establishing full control over the Kabul-Attock sector of this route. The route was subsequently almost secure for trade and travel. This was no mean achievement. It was significant duly politically but also from the economic point of view as this route was handling almost all the overland foreign trade of the Mughal Empire because the sea route was by now under the control of the Europeans.

The relative significance of this route further increased with the decline of the Multan-Qandahar route, which perhaps was the most important route of the early medieval period linking India with Persia and countries west of it. The decline of Multan-Qandahar coincided with the construction or renovation of the Bengal-Peshawar route (known as the Grand Trunk Road) by Sher Shah Suri. Sher Shah and after him Akbar and Jahangir continuously improved

the travel conditions on this route, by constructing sarais at reasonable intervels; digging wells, putting mile (Kos) stones on the route and planting trees on both sides of the route for shade.

This route, however, was never free of problems and hazards. The most significant problem, it seems, on the route was not due to the physical conditions of the route but the hostile attitude of the tribals, through whose homelands this route passed. It seems, from the sources consulted that, there were many tribal groups lying along the route, and perhaps only waiting for the caravans to come to be plundered by them. Some of the important tribal groups lying along the Kabul-Lahor sector of the route were; Khizr Khail, south of Jalalabad; Afridis near Bara (south of Peshawar); Yusufzai, in Swat region; Khatur and Dilazak near Attock, east of Indus; Chakkar (Kakar) in Potwar Plateau and Koh-i-Jud; and Gujjar in the neighbourhood of Gujrat. According to the accounts of the Kings or their chroniclers these tribal groups were thoroughly plundered time and again but were not prepared to mend their habits. The reasons could be two-fold. Firstly the tribals, who lived in solation for centuries, were not really interested in any outside influence, which could change their social structure; and secondly, the tribals, as mentioned earlier, were occupying the areas of isolation or the areas of relative isolation. In both cases, the physical conditions of their homelands were not

suitable for economic development. More over they were exposed to natural hazards. Thus it was economic compulsion rather than their hostile attitude which forced them to capture what ever they could get from travellers and traders. Their plunder by the forces of Kings, must have increased their misery and handce forced them again to recover their loss from travellers. It seems that even a King like Akbar, intellegent, liberal, forsighted and considerate, could not understand the real problems of these tribal groups. Thus the problem of tribal unrest could not be solved. Akbar and Jahangir could only manage to control this problem for some time.

At this point, it is necessary to make it clear that the Khaibar-pass route was not the only way to reach the Indus from the city of Kabul. Caroe considers it improbable that with unbridged rivers, the Khaibar route would have been the easiest, or even the most direct, between the places named. It is interesting to note that prior to Babar's final invasion to India in 1525, the route which invaders used to reach Indus from Kabul was not the Khaibar-pass route. According to some scholars, former invaders of India, who based their operation on Kabul (and there have been many of them, from Greek Alexander to the Turk Babar) preferred this line (north of Kabul river, through Swat region) to Khaibar and invariably prefaced the advance of Delhi by the preliminary subjugation of Bajaur, which lay on the frank

of their advance. Thus it is clear that it was only during the period of the Early Mughals that Khaibar-pass route emerged as the national highway-linking Kabul with Delhi/ Agra and even further.

During the period of Early Mughals, the Kabul-Delhi/ Agra routes were traversed most. All the Early Mughals travelled through this route; though the detailed account of all their journies is not available to help in the reconstruction of route maps. However, with the help of available accounts of their journey, it is not difficult to observe a certain pattern emerging in their travels. Unfortunately, though there are various reference to the caravans passing through this route in the contemporary sources, no travel accounts are available of these journies. William Finch who has written about the route between Agra and Kabul, describes the Agra-Lahor sector, on which he had travelled, in some detail, but only mentions the stages for the rest of the route.

Based on contemporary sources, the following journies or expeditions have been mapped and described:

1. Babar's Expedition to Bhira and Khushab (1519).
2. Babar's Expedition against Yusufzais of Swat (1519).
3. Babar's Final Expedition into Hindustan (1525).
4. Humayun's Expedition to Hindustan (1554-55).
5. Akbar's Expedition to Kabul (1581).
6. Akbar's Expedition to Attock (1585-86).
7. Akbar's Expedition from Kabul to Lahor (1589-90).

8. Jahangir's Expedition to Kabul (1607).

9. William Finch's Journey from Agra to Lahor (1611).

4.2.1.1 Babar's Expedition to Bhira and Khushab (1519)

Though Babar traversed the Kabul-Begram sector of the Kabul-Delhi route many times, it was only in 1519 that he ultimately crossed the Indus river. This was Babar's second campaign to Hindustan, in which the aim was to conquer Bhira-Khushab regions. These regions of Punjab were conquered by Timur and remained in Timurid possession till 1504. Babar had his own justification to conquer these territories. Babar's campaign against Bhira and Khushab was not a planned one, as before his crossing of Indus we found him in the Swat region[238] capturing Bajaur fort and establishing his mastery over the Swat region. Ever since Babar conquered Kabul he had a wish to capture these territories. He mentions, "ever since we came into Kabul it had been in my mind to move on Hindustan, but this had not been done for a variety of reasons".[239] Babar also decided to conquer the Bhira and Khushab regions when from the conquest of Bajaur and subjugation of tribals of Swat they could get nothing substantial. He himself mentions that "nothing to count had

238 There is a break of nearly 11 years (1508 to 1519 AD) in Babar's autobiography, which was not intended, he was trying to compose the annals of 1508 before his last illness and death.(Beveridge's note BN, p. 347).

239 BN, pp. 377-378.

fallen into soldier's hand during the three or four months".[240] That is why Babar thought that "something might fall into their hands if riding light they suddenly reach Bhira".[241] Babar's well-wishers, however, tried to pursue him not to invade Hindustan, when they reached Maqam.[242] Their argument was that as "one part of the army stayed behind in Kabul; a body of effective braves was left behind in Bajaura; a good part of this army has gone into Lamghan because its horses were worn-out; and the horses of those who had came this for, are so poor that they have not a day's hard riding in them."[243] Babad although found these arguments reasonable, did not change his plan to cross the Indus, perhaps mainly due to economic compulsions and sent Mir Muhammad the raftman, with some others to examine the Sind (darya) above and below the ford.[244]

From Maqam (Mardan) Babar went for hunting of rhinoceroses on the Swati side (see Map 4.12A) which was known

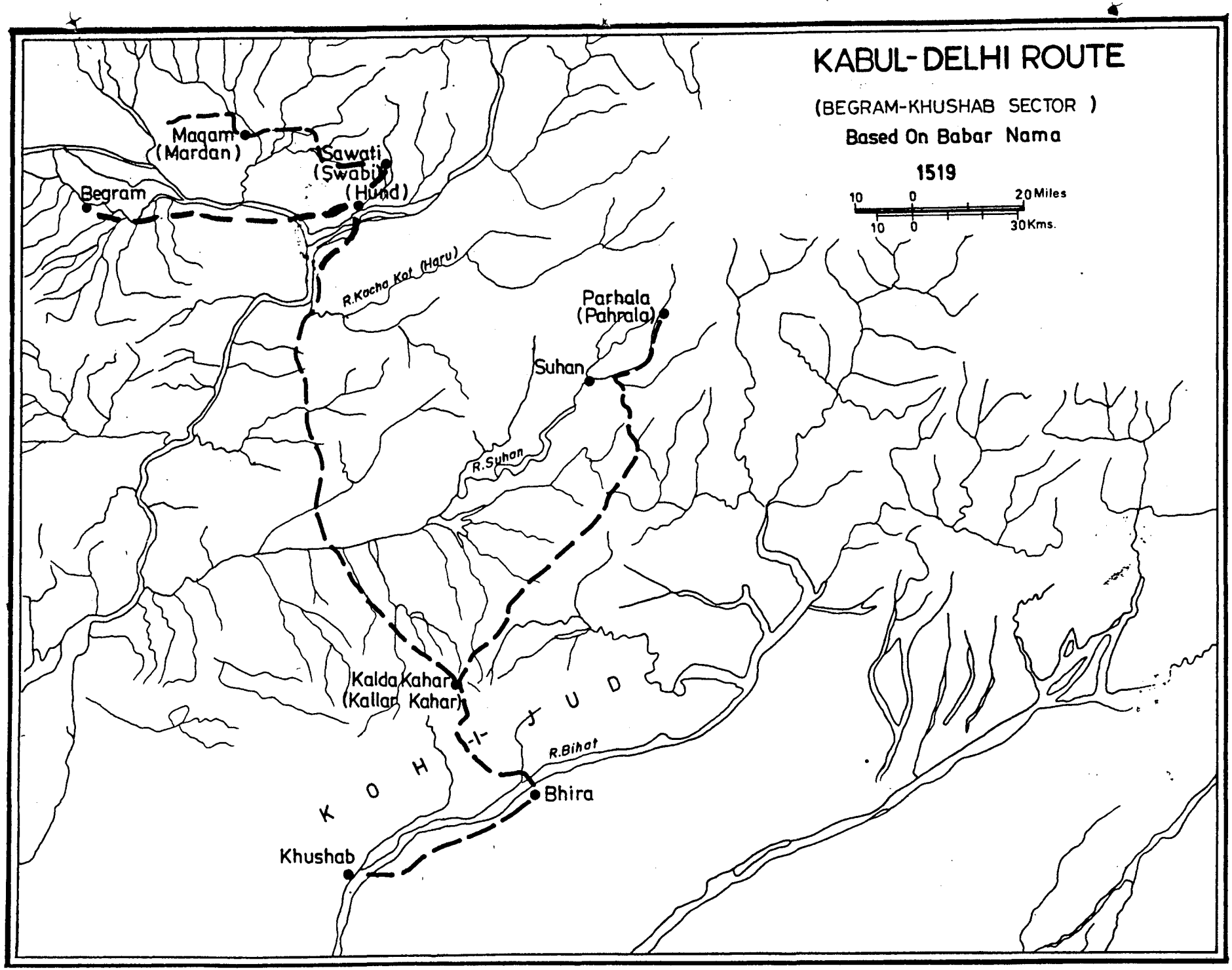
240 BN, p. 378.

241 Ibid.

242 Ibid., p. 377. It is possibly Mardan of the maps. It lies some 39 miles north-west of Attock and 33 miles north-east of Peshawar or Begram. It was chief towns of Samah region (Gazetteer of the NWF, II, p. 707).

243 BN, p. 378.

244 Ibid. The ford referred to here is the Hund or Ohid ford. The village of Hund is situated on the right bank of the river Indus about 16 miles above its junction with the Kabul river (for more details please see the section 3.2.2).


KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
(BEGRAM-KHUSHAB SECTOR)
Based On Babar Nama
1519
10 0 20 Miles
10 0 30 Kms.
Maqam
(Mardan)
Sawati
(Swabi)
(Hund)
Begram
R.Kacha Kot (Haru)
Parhala
(Pahrala)
Suhan
R.Suhan
Kalda Kahar
(Kallar Kahar)
KOHI-JUD
R.Bihat
Bhira
Khushab

Map 4.12 A

as Karg-Khana[245] (Rhino-home). On the 17th February 1519, the horses and baggage camels crossed through the ford and the camp bazar and foot soldiers were put over on rafts. They, after crossing the river[246] by after-noon, went on until one watch of the night had passed (about 9 p.m.) and subsequently dismounted near the water of Kacha-kot.[247]

Marching on the next day they crossed the Kacha-Kot water and after passing Sangdaki-pass[248] dismounted. They started from there at dawn and crossing the Suhan-water[249] they dismounted at the Mid-day Prayer. Those behind kept coming in till midnight. It was indeed a very long and tiresome journey and even Babar realized it as he mentions "the march had been mighty long and as many horses were weak and out of condition, a great number were left on the road."[250] From this camp they marched next day and dismounted at the

245 Ibid. The name is mispelled as it is infact Swabi. According to Caroe, the scene of expoit may have been the Razzar reed-bed, new largely cleared or the low hills of Topi towards the River Indus (The Pathans, p. 162). The rhinoceros, however, no more are found west of Indus.

246 Ibid., pp. 378-379. Please see the section on fords, 3.2.2.

247 Ibid., p. 379. The Kacha-Kot or Haru river is a small tributory of Indus.

248 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this pass. But it is a certain that Babar might have turned sharp south after crossing the Kacha-Kot river as he reached the pass and Suhan river so soon.

249 Ibid. It is a tributary of Sind river which is generally fordable.

250 Ibid.

Mid-day Prayer amongst fields of densely growing corn in Kalda-Kahar,[251] which according to Babar was some 20 miles north of Bhira, a level land shut in amongst the Jud mountains.[252]

They rode from Kalda-Kahar at dawn next day and when they reached the top of the Hamtatu pass[253] a few local people waited on him bringing a humble gift. They dismounted near the foot of the pass at breakfast-time and then moved again and dismounted on the east of Bhira[254] on the bank of the Behat. Babar, at this point, describes the history of Bhira and Khushab[255] regions to justify his claim on the region. On 22nd February, Babar visited Bhira and on the next day the headmen and Chauderis of Bhira were summoned and a sum of 400,000 shahrukhis were agreed on as the price of peace, and collectors were appointed.[256] On

251 Ibid., p. 381. It is Kallar Kahar of modern maps. There is lake of the same name. Babar must have stayed near the lake.

252 Ibid., p. 379. Babar describes the Koh-i-Jud or Salt range at length and tried to explain how the range got its name from the tribe Jud which dwell in the region.

253 Ibid., p. 381. It is not possible to identify this pass.

254 Ibid. Bhira is situated on the left bank of the Behat river has been a flourishing commercial town.

255 Ibid., pp. 381-388. Babar describe how the region was under the control of descendents of Timur. Khushab Town lies on the right bank of river Bihar. Between Bhira and Khushab the river is navigable.

256 BN, p. 383.

27th, so much rain fell that water covered all the plain. A small brackish stream flowing between Bhira and the garden in which the army lay had become like a great river.[257] They had to abondon the camp. Boats were brought from the river and in these boats most of the army brought their tents and baggage over. They ultimately found a ford two miles from the earlier one and rest of them crossed the river.[258]

After setting the affairs of Bhira-Khushab region and sending an envoy, for peace to Ibrahim Lodi.[259] Babar marched towards Kabul on 13th March.[260] They dismounted in Kaldah-Kahar, where the next day Janjuhas, the old foes of the Kakars[261] came and requested Babar to take action against Hatikakar as he was a bad man and had killed his brother, Tatar Kakar a few days earlier. Babar agreed to punish Hati, who had his quarter at Parhala.[262] They reached Parhala next day and entered the fort after some resistance from Hati Kakar. After setting the affairs of Kakar's (Ghakkar's)

257 Ibid., p. 384.

258 Ibid.

259 Ibid.

260 Ibid., p. 382.

261 Ibid., p. 389. The tribe is better known as Ghakkar. Their territory has already been discussed.

262 Ibid., p. 390. Pharhala lies on the eastern bank of one of the tributary of Suhan river on the ridge of the hill south of Rawalpindi.

territory they moved towards the camp and reached there on 19th March.[263] Next day marching from that camp at beat of drum (i.e. one hour before day) they dismounted at breakfast time below Sangdaki-pass. At mid-day they crossed this pass, crossed the torrent and dismounted on the rising ground.[264] Marching from there they crossed the Indus.[265]

Proceeding from the camp (on the Indus) on 26th March they reached Bigram[266] and went to see Gur-Khattri[267] (see Map 4.12B). On the next day when they dismounted at Ali-masjid,[268] a Dilazak Afghan of Yaqub-Khail brought an offering. Marching from Ali-masjid they dismounted at Yadabir[269] and from there they reached Jui-shahi[270] the same day

263 Ibid., p. 391.

264 Ibid., p. 392.

265 Ibid. The detail of the crossing of the Indus has already been discussed (3.2.2).

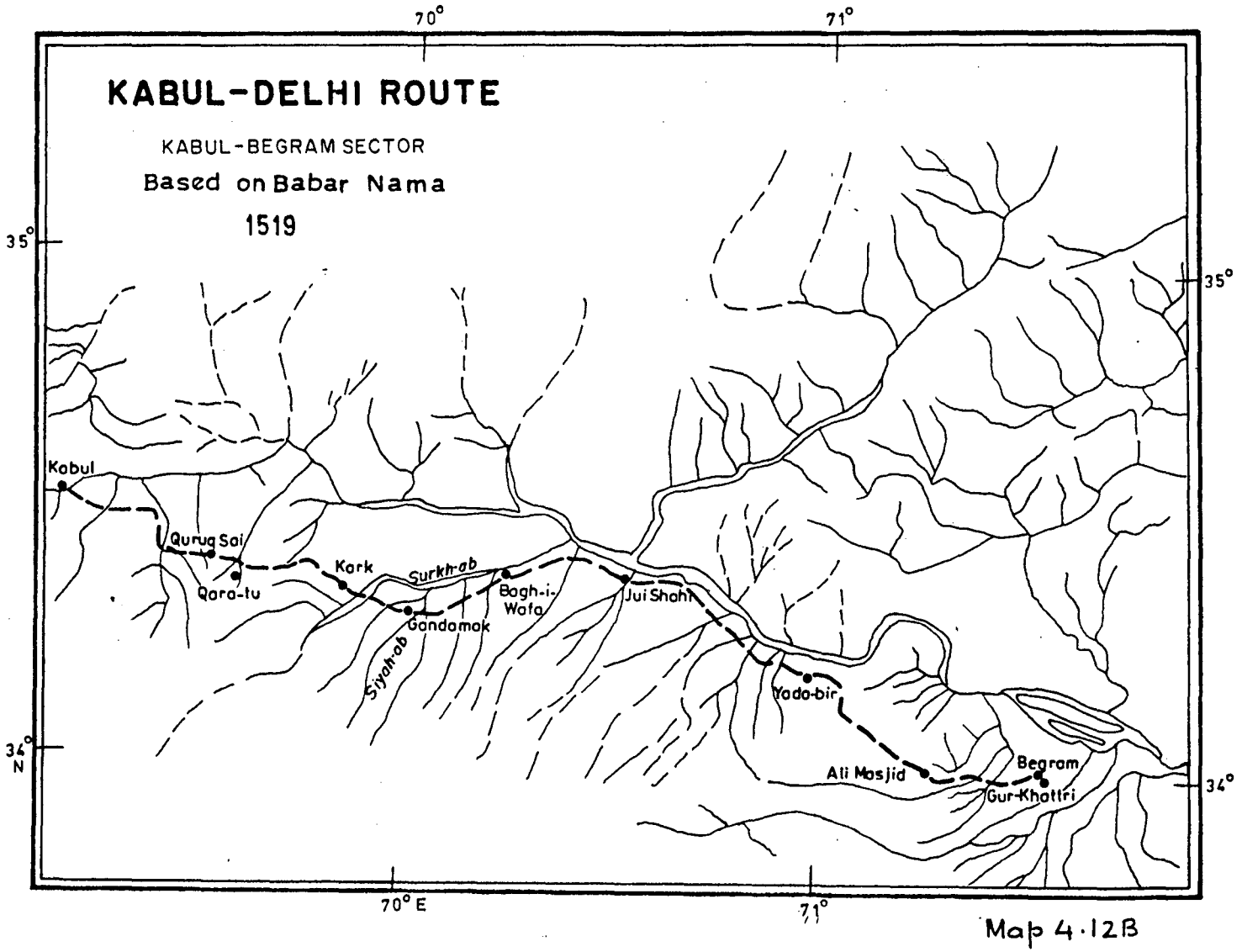
266 Ibid., p. 394. Bigram was the name of Chief City of the Parshawar district of Babar. It was only during the times of Akbar that district also known as Bigram.

267 Ibid. A holy place for Jogis and Hindus who used to come from long distances to shave their heads and beards there (BN, p. 230).

268 Ibid. Ali Masjid at an altitude of 2,433 feet above sea level is located at the commanding centre of the Khaiber Pass. The route between Ali Masjid and Jamrud starting point of the pass in fact, follows the true Khaiber only for a short distance. The pass beyond Ali Masjid is but a narrow gorge between precipitous Cliffs and steep rocky mountain sides. For Khaibar pass see section 3.2.1.3.

269 Ibid. The location of Yadabir is shown approximately.

270 Ibid. Though it is not possible to locate the posi-


KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
KABUL-BEGRAM SECTOR
Based on Babar Nama
1519
70°
71°
35°
34° N
70° E
Kabul
Qurug Sai
Qara-tu
Kark
Surkh-ab
Bagh-i-Wafa
Gandamak
Siyah-ab
Jui Shahi
Yada-bir
Ali Masjid
Begram
Gur-Khattri

Map 4·12B

by the Mid-day Prayer and then dismounted. On 29th marching from Jui-shahi at dawn, they ate their mid-day meal in the Bagh-i-wafa.[271] At the Mid-day Prayer they started from there and about the evening Prayer time forded the Siyah-ab[272] at Gandamak[273] and after crossing the Surkh-ab[274] they

Cont'd.. f.n. 270

tion of Jui-shahi as the name has change in due course of time but with the help of various references in BN its approximate location can be acertained (BN, pp. 229, 394, 410, 422). It must be located near the present site of Jalalabad. It is also significant to note that Babar never visited or mentioned Jalalabad which became seat of Darogha during the time of Akbar. Thus is not altogether improbable that Jalalabad was known as Jui-shahi during the times of Babar.

271 Ibid. According to Babar, the Bagh-i-wafa (Garden-of-fidelity) was laid out by in him in 1508-9 on a rising ground-facing south and having the Surkh-rud between it and fort Adinapur (BN, p. 208). The Bagh-i-wafa remained prominent throughout the period under study. During the journies made by Babar, Akbar, Jahangir and perhaps Humayun, Bagh-i-wafa (Bagh Wafa) was always a halting place. It was perhaps, laid down just across the Surkh-rud, opposite Adinapur and now known as Bala Bagh.

272 Ibid. Perhaps the tributary of Surkhab along which Gandamark is located has been referred to as Sujab-ab. A bridge was constructed, perhaps, at this point, during the times of Shahjahan (Habib, Atlas, Sheet IA-B).

273 Ibid. Gandamak has been one of the most important place on the Kabul-Attock route and as mentioned above the earlier the travellers had to ford the river near it before a bridge was constructed on it.

274 Ibid., p. 395. Surkh-ab is the most important tributary of Kabul river, from the south. The Surkh-ab's deltaic mouth was a land of gardens. A bridge was also constructed on this river during the times of Shahjahan and perhaps was at the same place which is shown on the maps as Surkhpul.

dismounted at Kark[275] and took a sleep. Riding before shoot of the day from Kark, Babar went with 5 or 6 others by the road taking off for Qara-tu[276] in order to enjoy the sight of a garden there. The rest of the party went by the other road to await him at Quruq-sai.[277] They reached Kabul at the Mid-day Prayer on 30th March.[278] The distance

275 Ibid. The approximate location of the Kark has been shown on the map. It might be close the Pezwan Pass on the main road between Gandamak and Jagdalak.

276 Ibid. Qara means dark and the literal meaning of Qara-tu is dark town. Though it is not possible to locate Qara-tu because apart from Babar Nama no other sources (which have been consulted) throw any light on the location of this pass. In Babar Nama, however there are various references to Qara-tu and Quruq-sai as they were along the alternative route between Jagdalak and Kabul. With the help of all these references to these place it is possible to locate the approximate position of Qara-tu and Quruq-sai.

277 Ibid. There are various references to Quruq-sai in Babar Nama to show its approximate location near Qara-tu. At one place Babar mentions that he established a settlement at Qara-tu below Quruq-sai (BN, p. 208). At another place Babar mentions that from Jagdalik he made "an excursion up the Valley-bottom of the Barik-ab towards Quruq-sai. (BN, p. 414). Babar also mentions about a route between Kabul and Mandrawar through Quruq-sai in these words "if people come by Quruq-sai, one road goes on through the Diri-pass, crosses the Baran water at Bulan, and so on into the Lamghanant" (BN, p. 209). There is at least one reference to Quruq-sai in AN (III, p. 534) but does not throw any light on the exact location of the place. However, with the help of above references to Quruq-sai it is not difficult to locate it on the western side of Bakik-ab valley on the road leading to Kabul Khurd.

278 Ibid. As compared to other marches between Indus and Kabul this journey of Babar was extremely fast.

between Indus river and Kabul was covered by Babar only in four and a half days.

4.2.1.2 Babar's Expedition Against Yusufzais of Swat (1519)

Babar started from Kabul determined to check and ward off the Yusufzais[279] of Swat, changed his plan on the way and returned only after plundering Yusufzais of Hashtnagar. Thus, this expedition of Babar throws more light on the Kabul-Begram (Purshawar) sector of the Delhi-Kabul route and hence has been included in this section. This expedition of Babar provides perhaps the most detailed account of the halting stages on the route since Babar travelled leisurely stage by stage.

Babar started from Kabul on Thursday, the 8th September 1519 and dismounted in the meadow on the Dih-iyaqub side of Kabul.[280] Babar had to stay there for a few days due to the dislocation of his right thumb and marching on Wednesday the 14th September, he passed through But-Khak[281]

279 BN, pp. 408-409.

280 Ibid., p. 409. There are quite a few references to this (Dih-i-yaqub) place in Babar Nama but without the map of the city of Kabul it is not possible to locate it. It is however, clear that it was in the environs of Kabul (BN, p. 200 f.n. 4).

281 Ibid. But-Khak lies 12 miles east of Kabul on the Kabul-Attock route. This was one of the most constant halting place on this route being one stage before Kabul.

(see Map 4.13) and as usual dismounted on But-Khak water.[282] On Friday he dismounted at Badam-ehashma.[283] Next day, the party dismounted on the Barik-ab,[284] but Babar reached the camp after a visit to Qara-tu.[285] From Barik-ab they went on march by march till Wednesday, the 20th September and dismounted in the Bagh-i-wafa[286] where they stayed the next day. On Friday they marched out and dismounted beyond Sultanpur.[287] At this place Dilazak Chiefs came and informed

282 Ibid. Beveridge identified it with Luhugur (Logar) and say that according to tradition, But-Khak (idol dust) was so named because there Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni had idols, brought by him out of Hindustan pounded to dust (BN, p. 409, f.n. 3). The identification of But-Khak water with Loghar stream however, is incorrect as Babar must have already crossed Loghar before reaching But-Khak as it lies west of the settlement. There is a stream east of But-Khak, Babar might be referring to that as But-Khak water.

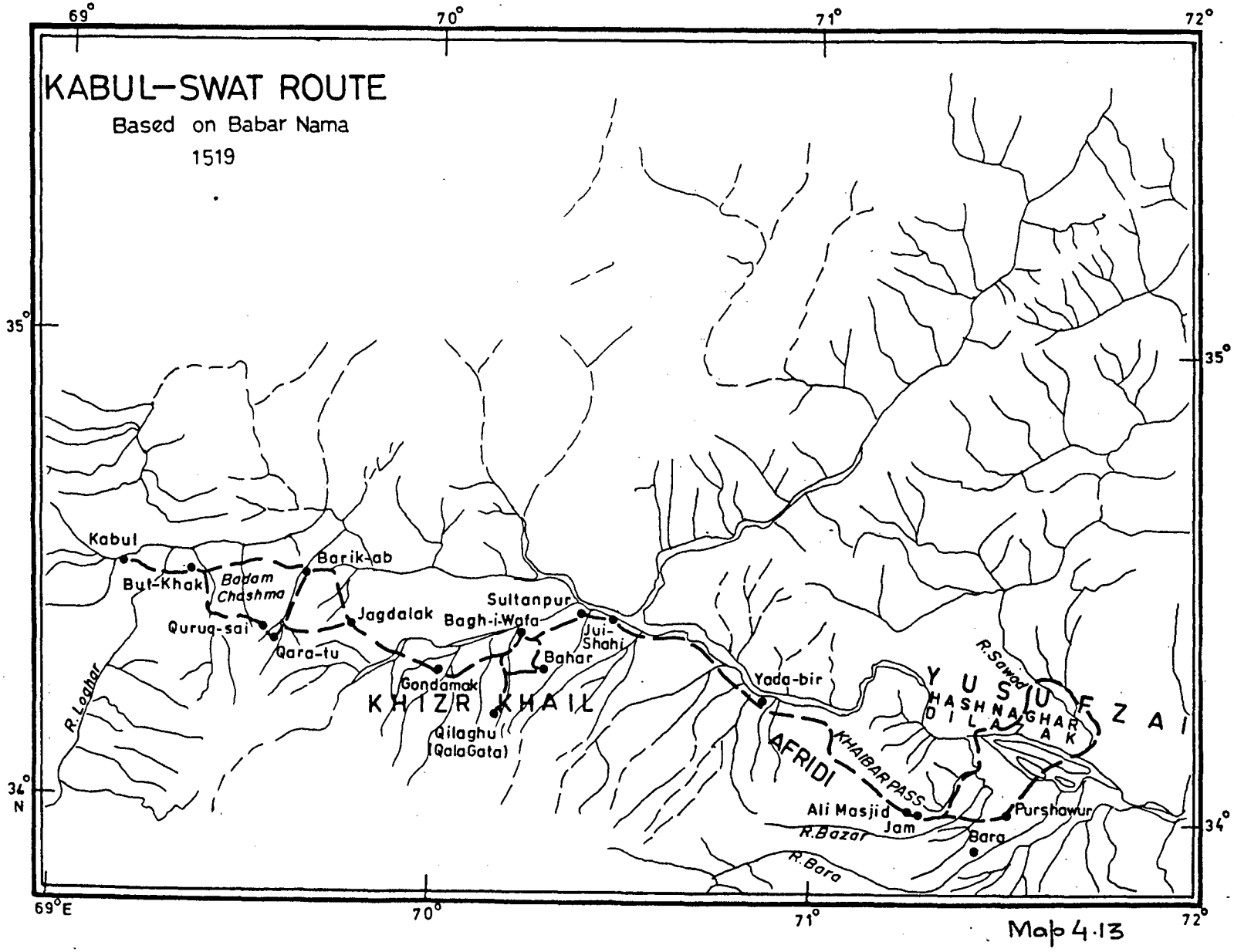
283 Ibid. Badam-chashma was located between But-Khak and Barik-ab on the main road. The pass of Badam-chashma (BN, p. 208) was perhaps Lataband pass of modern maps as suggested by its location on the main road.

284 Ibid. Barik-ab is an affluent of Kabul river and the settlement of the same is along its eastern bank about 47 miles from Kabul. It has been a constant halting place during the journeys recorded in the period under study.

285 Ibid.

286 Ibid. Babar must have stayed at Jagalak and Gandamak in between Barik-ab and Bagh-i-wafa.

287 Ibid. Though it is not possible to identify and locate Sultanpur, perhaps, it has disappeared in due course of time. But it is clear from the references to it that Sultanpur was located between Bagh-i-wafa and Jalalabad. As noted earlier, with the emergence Jalalabad as a prominent settlement with Daroga's seat in it, during the period of Akbar, Jui-shahi lost its significance. The same may be said about Sultanpur, which lost its significance during the second half of the sixteenth century.


KABUL–SWAT ROUTE
Based on Babar Nama
1519
69°
70°
71°
72°
35°
34° N
69°E
Kabul
But-Khak
Badam Chashma
Barik-ab
Qurug-sai
Qara-tu
Jagdalak
Bagh-i-Wafa
Sultanpur
Jui-Shahi
Bahar
Gondamak
Qilaghu (QalaGata)
KHIZR KHAIL
R. Logher
Yada-bir
AFRIDI
KHAIBAR PASS
R. Sawad
YUSUFZAI
HASHNAGAR
DILAZAK
Ali Masjid
Jam
Purshawur
R. Bazar
Bara
R. Bara

Map 4.13

Babar that "there was a large horde (aulus) in Hash-naghar and that much corn was to be had there."[288] Babar consulted his nobles and after the meeting it was decided that, "As... there is much corn in Hash-naghar, the Afghans there shall be over-run; the forts of Hash-naghar and Parashawar shall be put into order; part of the corn shall be stored in them and they be left in charge of Shah Mir Husain and a body of braves.[289]

Marching on next day, they reached Jui-shahi and dismounted there.[290] On Sunday, the 25th September they marched from Jui-shahi and dismounted at Qiriq-ariq[291] (forty conduits). On Monday they started at dawn from there and dismounted at Garm-chashma[292] and resuming their journey again, encamped at Yada-bir.[293] Riding on the next morning, they dismounted below the Khaibar-pass.[294] Bayazid came there by the Bara-road after hearing about Babar's arrival there. He brought the information that "the Afridi Afghans were seated in Bara with their goods... and that they had grown a mass

288 BN, p. 410.

289 Ibid.

290 Ibid.

291 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.

292 Ibid., p. 411. Garm-chashma means hot-spring. In the absence of deaited maps it is not possible to identify this place or hot spring.

293 Ibid.

294 Ibid.

of corn which was still standing."[295] Babar paid no attention as his plan was to attack Yusuf-zai Afghans of Hash-naghar.[296]

Marching on at dawn across the pass they passed through the Khaibar-narrows and dismounted at Ali-masjid.[297] At the Mid-day Prayer they rode on, leaving the baggage behind, reached the Kabul-water at the second watch (midnight) and there slept awhile. A ford was found at day light, they had forded the water when news came from their scout that the Afghans after hearing their arrival, were in flight.[298] They went on, passed through the Sawad-water and dismounted amongst the Afghan corn-fields. But the outcome of this expedition disappointed Babar as he mentions that "not a half, not a fourth indeed of the promised corn was had". He further writes that "the plan of fitting-up Hash-naghar, made under the hope of getting corn here, came to nothing."[299] However, after the raid, they dismounted after fording the water of Sawad to its Kabul side.

Marching next morning from the Sawad water they crossed the Kabul-water and dismounted. Once again the Begs

295 Ibid.

296 Ibid.

297 Ibid.

298 Ibid.

299 Ibid.

were consulted and it was decided that the Afridi Afghans about whom Bayazid had spoken "should be over-run, Purshawur fort be fitted up on the strength of their goods and corn, and some one left there in charge".[300] Marching at dawn, in accordance with the arrangement made on the Kabul-water they passed Jam[301] and dismounted at the outfall of the Ali-masjid water.[302] But at this place, Babar was informed that the Sultan Said Khan had come with designs on Badakhshan. This forced Babar to change his plans of attacking Afridi Afghans and to victual the fort of Purshawur. He decided to go back.[303] They marched on next day, crossed Khaibar-pass and dismounted below it.[304]

From below the pass at day break, they had their mid-day meal in Dih-i-ghulaman (Basaul)[305] and after feeding their horses rode on again at the Mid-day Prayer. That

300 Ibid., p. 412.

301 Ibid. It is modern Jamrud, in fact it referred as Jam only by Babar in all other sources, AN, T.J. etc. it is referred to as Jamrud. It has already been mentioned that Jamrud remained important due to its location at the beginning of Khaibar-pass.

302 Ibid. According to Beveridge, Massan also describes this place as "a spot where the water supplying the revelet (of Ali-masjid) gushes in a large volume from the rocks to the left." (BN, p. 412, f.n. 1).

303 Ibid.

304 Ibid., p. 413.

305 Ibid. According to Beveridge Manucci gives an account of this place (BN, p. 413, f.n. 1). Jahangir stayed at a place Basawal in 1607 on his way to Kabul.

night they moved on till the second watch (mid-night) got a little beyond Sultanpur, there they slept a while,[306] then rode on again to raid the Khizr-khail Afghans, who were understood to have their seat from Bahar and Mich-gram to Kara-su.[307] Babar earlier justified the attack on Khizr-khail Afghan in these words. "Many improper things the Khizr-khail had done: when the army went to, and fro, they used to shoot at the laggards and those dismounted apart, in order to get their horses. It seemed lawful therefore and right to punish them."[308] Anyway the army reached the homelands of the Khizr-khail and captured their goods and small children.[309] Next day they dismounted at Qilaghu,[310] where owing to this punitive raid, the Waziri Afghans who never had given their tribute well, brought 300 sheep.[311]

On Tuesday, the 10th October came Afghan Chiefs leading the Khirilchi (and) Samu-khail. The Dilazak Afghans entreated pardon for them, Babar pardoned them and set the captured free. Their tribute was fixed at 4000 sheep.[312]

306 Ibid.

307 Ibid.

308 Ibid.

309 Ibid.

310 Ibid. It is possibly, Qala Ghato of 19th century maps and Gata Qala of modern maps.

311 Ibid.

312 Ibid.

After setting these matters they marched on Thursday and dismounted at Bahar (Vihara?) and Mich-gram.[313] Next day they went to the Bagh-i-wafa and enjoyed its beauty.[314] They started from the garden on Monday and dismounted at Gandamak.[315] Next day they dismounted at Jagdalik[316] and from there Babar made an excursion up the valley-bottom of the Barik-ab towards Quruq-sai.[317] From this place Mulla Abdul Malik Diwana was sent ahead to take the news of Babar's arrival into Kabul.[318] At sun-set they rode off and reached Kabul at midnight.[319]

4.2.1.3 Babar's Final Expedition into Hindustan (1525)

After the expedition to Bhira and Khushab in 1519, Babar raided Punjab again in 1520 and 1524. It is not possible to reconstruct the route of these two campaigns as

313 BN, p. 414. Location of Bahar is shown in some of the nineteenth century maps. However, it is not possible to identify Mich-gram, which must be close by.

314 Ibid.

315 Ibid.

316 Ibid. It is about 24 miles from Gandamak. The distance from Kabul by the new road is 58 miles and by the old road 66 miles.

317 Ibid.

318 Ibid., p. 415.

319 Ibid.

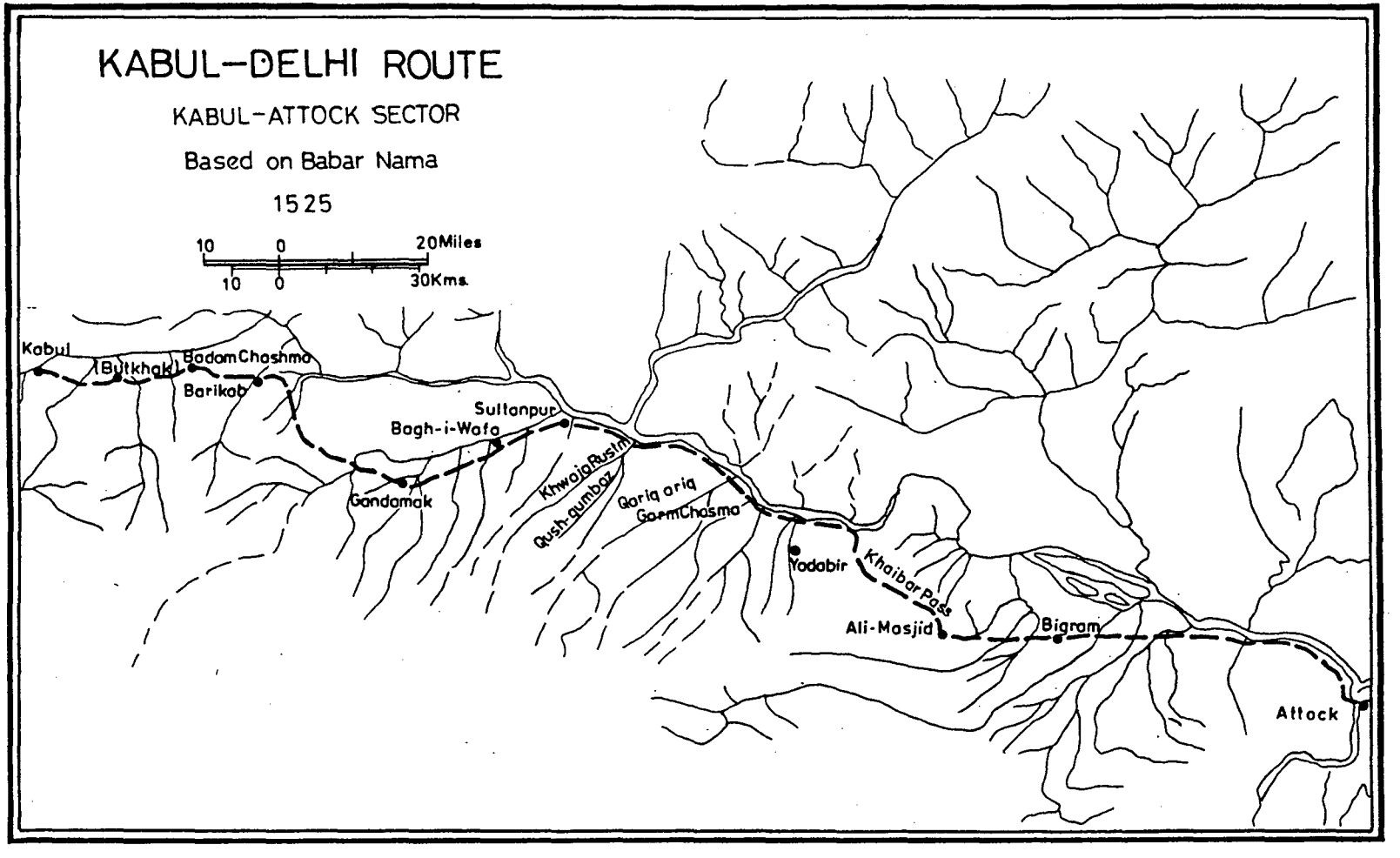
Babar could not complete his biography for this period. The detailed descriptions, however of Babar's fifth and final expedition into Hindustan is available in Babar Nama which enabled us to reconstruct the Kabul-Delhi route for the first time. Babar for this expedition, followed a much northerly route in Attock-Delhi sector, perhaps to avoid any possible clash on his way to Delhi.[320] This fact is significant as it shows that the alternative routes in the plains of Punjab were not difficult to find and follow even by a large army.

Babar started from Kabul for Hindustan on Friday, the 17th November 1525 and crossed the small rise of Yak-langa and dismounted in the meadow to the west of the water of Dih-i-Yaqub.[321] After staying there for two days, for the convenience of the army they marched on, halted one night and then dismounted at Badam-chashma[322] (see Map 4.14 A). On Wednesday, when they were at Barik-ab, the younger brother of Nur Beg, who himself remained in Hindustan, brought gold ashrafis and tankas to the value of 20,000 shahrukhis, sent from the Lahor revenues by Khwaja Husain. On Friday, the

320 Though Babar gives somewhat different reason for adopting this unusual route for the expedition.

321 BN, p. 445. According to Beveridge "This is the Logar affluent of the Baran-water (Kabul river) Masson describes this halting-place" (BN, p. 445, f.n. 2).

322 BN, p. 446.


KABUL–DELHI ROUTE
KABUL–ATTOCK SECTOR
Based on Babar Nama
1525
10 0 20Miles
10 0 30Kms.
Kabul
Butkhak
Badam Chashma
Barikab
Sultanpur
Bagh-i-Wafa
Gandamak
Khwaja Rustm
Qush-qumbaz
Gariq ariq
Garm Chasma
Jadabir
Khaibar Pass
Ali-Masjid
Bigram
Attock

Map-4·14 A

24th November they dismounted at Gandamak[323] and the next day halted at Bagh-i-wafa[324] and stayed there for few days, waiting for Humayun's arrival.

On Sunday, the 3rd December, Humayun arrived in the morning and they marched in the evening and dismounted in a newly laid garden between Sultanpur and Khwaja Rustam.[325] Marching on Wednesday they got on the raft and reached Qush-gumbas[326] to join the camp. Starting off the camp at dawn, Babar with few companions went on a raft and there ate some confectionary (majun). When Babar reached Qiriq-ariq from this excursion, which has always been their encamping ground, he found no sign or trace of the camp.[327] Babar thought that "Garm-chashma (Hot spring) is close by; they may have dismounted there."[328] So they moved from Qiriq-ariq, but by the time they reached Garm-chashma it was too

323 Ibid.

324 Ibid., p. 447.

325 Ibid. It is not possible to locate Khwaja Rustam's position in any of the maps or any other reference to this place in any of the source. The place is however has been shown without locating its exact position.

326 Ibid. "Bird's dome, opposite the mouth of Kunar water S.A. War, Map p. 64" Beveridge BN, p. 229 (f.n. 4). The map mentioned by Beveridge is not available to us so it is not possible to show its exact position.

327 BN, p. 448.

328 Ibid.

late so they tied up the raft and slept awhile.[329]

At the day-break they reached Yada-bir,[330] where after sometime, army-folks began to come in. Babar realised that when he reached Qiriq-ariq in search of a camp, it must have been there but out of his sight. Marching on that evening, they dismounted at Ali-masjid.[331] About the camping ground Babar mentions that, "the ground here being very confined, always used to dismount on a rise overlooking the camp in the valley bottom. The camp fires made a wonderful illumination there at night."[332] Next day they dismounted near Bigram[333] (Peshawar), where the camp remained next day, Babar went to Karg-awi[334] on the 11th December. They dismounted on the Kabul-water.[335] With two night halts on the way they reached the water of Sind[336] (Indus) and there dismounted on Thursday.

On Saturday, the 16th December, they crossed the Sind-water, then crossed the water of Kacha-kot (Haru) and dis-

329 Ibid. Though it is not possible to identify both Garm-chashma and Qariq-arig, with their description in BN, at various places their approximate locations has been shown on the maps.

330 Ibid.

331 Ibid., p. 450.

332 Ibid.

333 Ibid.

334 Ibid. According to Beveridge it is Karg-Khana.

335 Ibid., p. 451.

336 Ibid., p. 452.

mounted on the bank of the river[337] (see Map 4.14 B). The begs, pay-masters and diwans who had been put in charge of the boats, reported to Babar that "the number of those came with the army, great and small, good and bad, retainer and non-retainer, was written down as 12,900."[338] They had made five marches from the Sind-water; after the sixth, they dismounted on a torrent, in the camping ground of the Bugials[339] below Balnath Jogis hill[340] which connects with the Hill of Jud. About the five early marches Babar mentions that "the rainfall had been somewhat scant in the plains, but seemed to have been good in the cultivated lands along the hill-skirts, for these reasons we took the road for Sialkot along the skirt-hills."[341] Opposite Hati Kakar's country[342] we came upon a torrent, the waters of which were

337 Ibid. Beveridge, suggests that Babar might have encamped near the Indus, after crossing the Haru river, as the word used for the river is darya, which he uses only for large rivers. (BN, p. 454, f.n. 1).

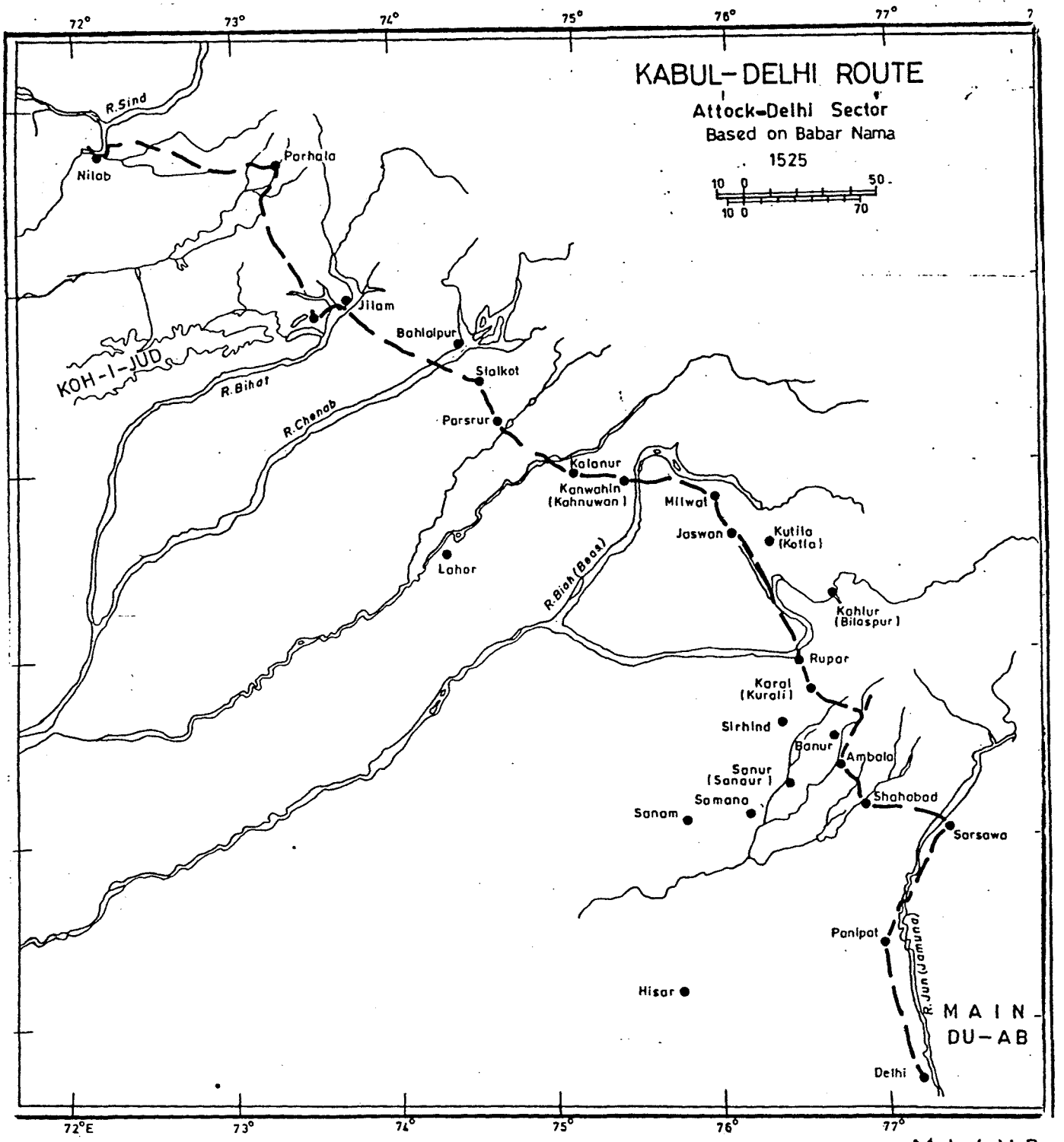
338 BN, p. 452.

339 This is Kakar (Gakkar) clan known as Baragowah. Located in the same area during the times Jahangir also.

340 BN, p. 452. A notable place in the salt range, not only due to its ancient sanctity and of its being resorted to by the devotees from all parts of India, but also because of its geological formation, the elevation and consequent coolness of the climate. It remained prominent also due to its location near the Jhelum ford.

341 As mentioned earlier Babar gives, climatic rather than strategic reason for his adopting a route along the sub-mountain region rather than more established route, passing through Lahor etc.

342 Beveridge, thinks that presumably this was near Par-


KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
Attock-Delhi Sector
Based on Babar Nama
1525
10 0 50
10 0 70
72°
73°
74°
75°
76°
77°
R.Sind
Nilab
Parhala
Jilam
Bahlolpur
Sialkot
KOH-I-JUD
R.Bihat
R.Chenab
Parsrur
Kalanur
Kanwahin
(Kahnuwan)
Miiwat
Jaswan
Kutila
(Kotla)
Lahor
R.Biah (Beas)
Kahlur
(Bilaspur)
Rupar
Karal
(Kurali)
Sirhind
Banur
Ambala
Sanur
(Sanaur)
Shahabad
Somana
Sanam
Sarsawa
Panipat
R. Jumna
Hisar
MAIN
DU-AB
Delhi
72°E
73°
74°
75°
76°
77°

Map 4.14 B

standing in pools. These pools were all frozen ever".[343]

Marching on, they crossed the Bihat water at a ford below Jilam (Hihlam) and there dismounted.[344] From this place Babar sent off two messengers to Lahor with the message "do not join battle; meet us at Sialkot[345] or Parsrur."[346] After this they moved forward, halted one night, the next dismounted on the bank of the Chinab (Chan-ab). Babar mentions that, "As Buhlulpur[347] was Khalsa, we left the road to visit it. Its fort is situated above a deep

Cont'd... f.n. 342

hala, which stands, where the Suhan river quits the hills, at the eastern entrance of a wild and rocky gorge a mile in length". BN, p. 452 (f.n. 2) Babar visited this place in 1519.

343 BN, p. 452.

344 Ibid., p. 453. The modern town of Jhelum is located in the western or right bank of the Jhelum (Behat) river about one hundred miles north west of Lahor.

345 Sialkot is an ancient town and according to tradition the town was founded by Raja Shal, mentioned in the Mahabharat, as an uncle of the Pandava princes. It lies about 22 miles from Jammu.

346 Ibid. It is Pasrur of modern maps. It is about 20 miles south-east of Sialkot. It became an important town during the times of the emperor Jahangir, who constructed a large tank and a canal to supply it with water.

347 Its name suggest, that it was established or renamed by Bahlul Lodi. It is mentioned in Ain and located on large maps west of Chenab.

ravine, on the bank of Chin-ab".[348] From Buhlulpur they went to camp by boat.

On Friday, 29th December, they dismounted at Sialkot where a person came from the Labor begs to say that they would arrive early next morning to await on Babar. Marching early next day, they dismounted at Parsrur. From Parsrur they reached Kalanur[349] on the next day and from there they crossed the Biah-water (Beas) opposite Kanwahin[350] and dismounted. From there they marched to the foot of the valley of Fort Milwat[351] and captured the fort. Marching on, they crossed a low hill of the grazing ground of Milwat and went into the (Jaswan) dun.[352] From dun they reached Rupar,[353] it rained very much and became so cold that a mass of starved and naked Hindustanis died[354] mentions Babar.

348 BN, p. 454.

349 Ibid., p. 458. The town of Kalanaur was a place of great importance during 14th to 16th century. It was at this place that Akbar got the news of Humayun's death.

350 Ibid. Probably it is Kahnuwan of modern maps.

351 Ibid., p. 459. There are some fine old temples with most Chaste Ionic or Greaco-Indian fluted columns at least 2000 years old, situated on the edge of a stupendous precipice, and mading a most extensive view of Chenab, Jhelum and Ravi Valleys. (Ross, David, The Land of the Five rivers and Sindh, p. 153).

352 Ibid., p. 461. Babar further mentions that "In this date a running-water of Hindustan, along its sides are many villages; and it is said to be the pargana of the Jaswal."

353 Ibid., p. 464. Rupar stands on the left bank of the Sutlej and has been an important halting place during the medieval period, due to its location on the bank of the river Sutlej.

354 Ibid.

Their next encamping ground was Karal[355] opposite Sirhind. After having halted one night on the way, they dismounted on the bank of the torrent[356] of Banur and Sanur, which is known as Kakar (Ghaggar). From the bank of the Ghaggar they encamped at Ambala[357] and marching from Ambala they dismounted by the side of a lake. Their next camp was at Shahabad,[358] and after halting for two nights, reached the bank of the Jun-river (Kamna) and encamped opposite Sarsawa.[359] Babar crossed the Jun-river at a ford and visited Sarsawa. From the encamping ground they marched forward and after halting one night on the way reached Panipat on Thursday, the 12th April 1526.[360] After a well contested battle, Babar defeated the forces of Ibrahim Lodi on 20th April, 1526.[361] From Panipat, he moved towards Delhi and reached there on 24th April,[362] a few days later became

355 Ibid. Probably it is Kurali, south of Rupar.

356 Ibid. It is Ghaggar in its upper course.

357 Ibid., p. 465. Ambala town is said to have been founded by Amba Rajput during fourteenth century.

358 Ibid., p. 466. It lies south of Ambala and on the left bank of Markanda.

359 Ibid., p. 447. This ancient town of Saharanpur district is associated with a saint reversed by Hindus and Muslims.

360 Ibid., p. 469.

361 Ibid., pp. 472-475.

362 Ibid., p. 475.

the King of Hindustan, on 27th April 1526.[363]

4.2.1.4 Humayun's Expedition to Hindustan (1554-55)

After settling the affairs of Kabul and Qandahar, Humayun started from Kabul to recapture the throne of Hindustan, about the middle of November 1554. Both Abul Fazl, and Jauhar Aftabchi describe this expedition, but in both cases the route between Kabul and Attock has sketchily been discussed and so it is not possible to reconstruct the map of that sector. The account of the expedition provides sufficient information about the route followed by Humayun and his army after the Indus to reach Delhi.

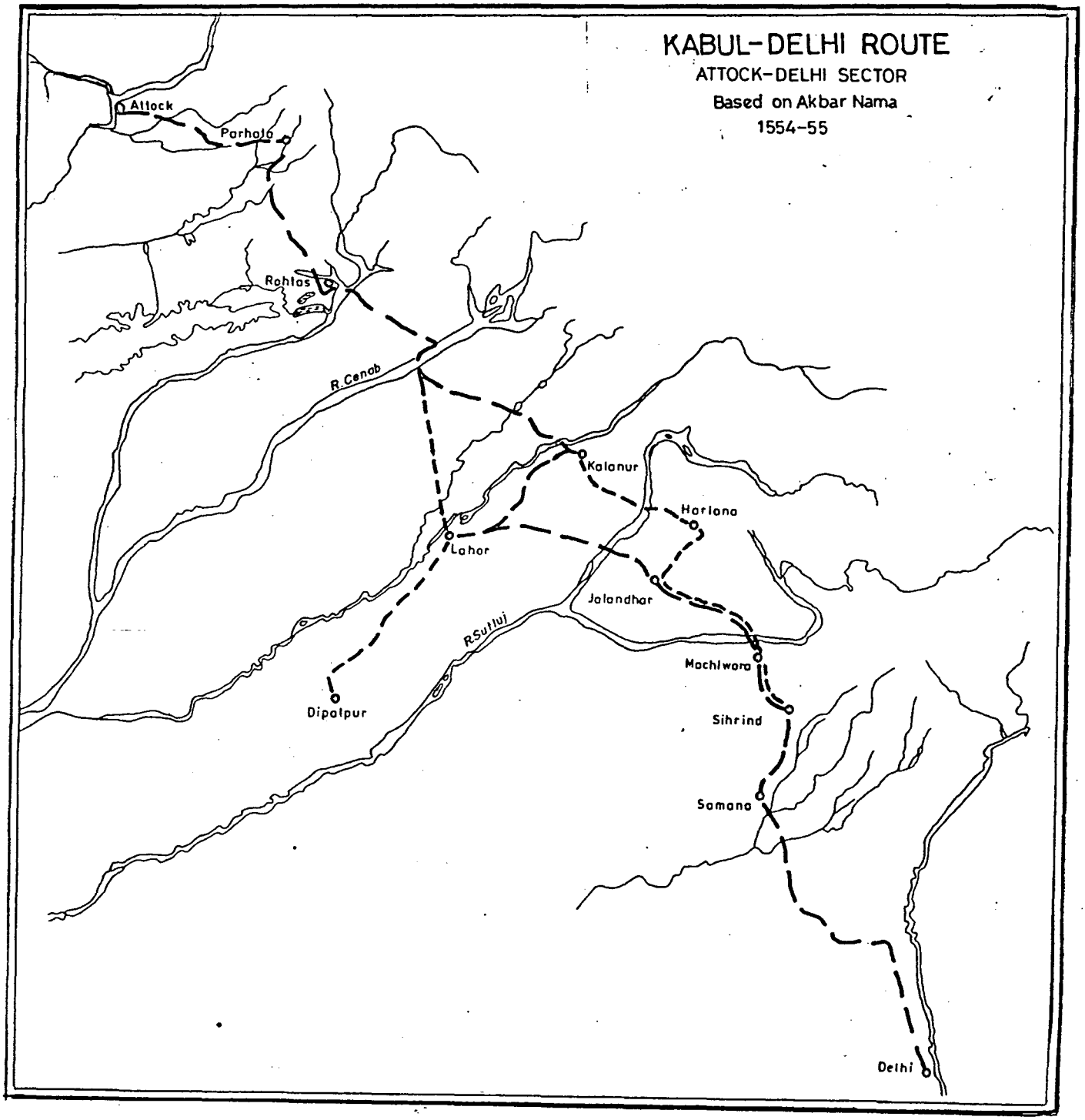
Humayun must have followed the usual route between Kabul and Jalalabad. But from Jalalabad, he went down the river Kabul on a raft upto Begram (Peshawar)[364] where he encamped towards the end of December 1554. On 31st December, they encamped at the bank of river Indus, known as Nilab[365] (see Map 4.15) and stayed there for three days. Bairam Khan, came from Kabul to join the army at this place. Humayun, also got the news that "Tatar Khan Kashi, who had been appointed with a large force to guard the fort of Rohtas[366]

363 Ibid., p. 476.

364 AN, I, p. 622, Aftabchi, p. 161.

365 AN, I, p. 622.

366 The Rohtas stronghold was originally built for the purpose of over powering the warlike and powerful Ghakkar. Sher Shah, is said to have expanded a million and a half in its construction to keep guard


KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
ATTOCK-DELHI SECTOR
Based on Akbar Nama
1554-55
Attock
Parhala
Rohtas
R.Cenab
Kalanur
Harlana
Lahor
Jalandhar
R.Sutlui
Machiwara
Dipalpur
Sihrind
Samana
Delhi

Map 4.15.

had, in spite of the strength of the fort etc. fled merely on hearing of the uprearing of the royal standards on the borders of the Indus."[367]

A letter was sent to Sultan Adam Ghakhar to join the army of Humayun. Adam Ghakhar, humbly declined the offer as he had recently made a treaty with Sikandar Lodhi, who also took Adam's son with him.[368] Humayun, in the mean while, reached the neighbourhood of Parhala,[369] with the hope that Adam Ghakhar will join the army and moved towards Rohtas[370] without him. When they reached Chenab, Humayun ordered to encamp on an elevated ground and from there Shihab Khan and others were sent to Lahor to control the situation.[371] The army then moved on to the town of Kalanur[372] and from this place Bairam Khan and others were sent against Nasib Khan, who was stationed at Harhana (Hariana)[373] while, Humayun himself with the remaining army went on to Lahor and reached there on 24th February 1555.[374]

Cont'd.. f.n. 366
on Humayun. It is interesting to note that the fort was given up without resistance.

367 AN, I, p. 622.

368 Ibid.

369 Aftabchi, p. 161. Aftabchi mentions Parhada as Barhala.

370 AN, I, p. 622.

371 Ibid., p. 623. Aftabchi p. 162. Abul Fazl, however, says that they were despatched from Kalanur.

372 AN, I, p. 623.

373 Ibid., p. 624. Hariana lies north-east of Jalandhar on the foothills.

374 Ibid.

From Lahor, Humayun sent Shah Abul Maali and others to crush Shahbaz Khan who had collected a number of Afghans in Dipalpur to fight the Mughal forces. The Mughal forces defeated the Afghans after a hot engagement.[375] In the mean while when Bairam Khan arrived near Pargana Harhana (Hariana), Nasib Khan Afghan made a small resistance and fled.[376] Bairam Khan reached Jalandhar as instructed. The Afghans there fled without any resistance. Bairam Khan halted in Jalandhar[377] and assigned parganas in the neighbourhood to the various officers and sent them to their several posts. Sikandar Khan was appointed to Maciwara.[378] He presuming that he had it in hand, advanced further, and took possession of Sirhind. Much property fell into his hands. But when the Afghan soldiers came from Delhi, Sikandar Khan left Sirhind and reached Jalandhar. Bairam Khan did not approve of this and asked him to go back to Sirhind.[379]

Sikandar Khan and others on reaching the borders of

375 Ibid. Dipalpur during the medieval times was a prominent town. At the time of Timur's invasion it was second only to Multan in size and importance.

376 Ibid.

377 Ibid., p. 625. The kingdom and city of Jalandhar has always been celebrated for its fertility. It is mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of Kulindrine. Hwen Tsang stayed here for four months. It remained important throughout medieval period.

378 AN, I, p. 625. It is Machiwara of modern maps.

379 Ibid.

Machiwara, did not think it advisable to cross the Sutlej. As the rainy season was near at hand the proper thing to do, they thought "was to secure the ferries and to halt. When the violence of the rain was over, and the air had become temperate, they could cross the river".[380] However, Bairam Khan and some other nobles decided to cross the river at once.

There was a big fight between the Afghans and the Mughals near Machiwara in which Mughal forces pushed Afghans back and proceeded towards Sirhind,[381] where Humayun also reached from Lahor on 29th May.[382] A great battle was fought at Sirhind in which Afghan forces were defeated and Humayun after arranging the matters of Sirhind, proceeded by way of Samana[383] towards Delhi. But on account of the pleasant climate of Samana and the violence of the rains, he ordered a halt there for some days. Humayun reached Delhi on 20th July 1556 and on 23rd entered the city and established himself on the throne.[384]

380 Ibid.

381 Ibid., p. 626.

382 Ibid., p. 627.

383 Ibid., p. 634. It is curious that Humayun moved towards Samana from Sirhind to reach Delhi as Samana is away from the more direct route between Sirhind and Delhi. Humayun must have gone to Samana to wait and observe the political developments after the defeat of Afghans at Sirhind.

384 Ibid.

4.2.1.5 Akbar's Expedition to Kabul (1581)

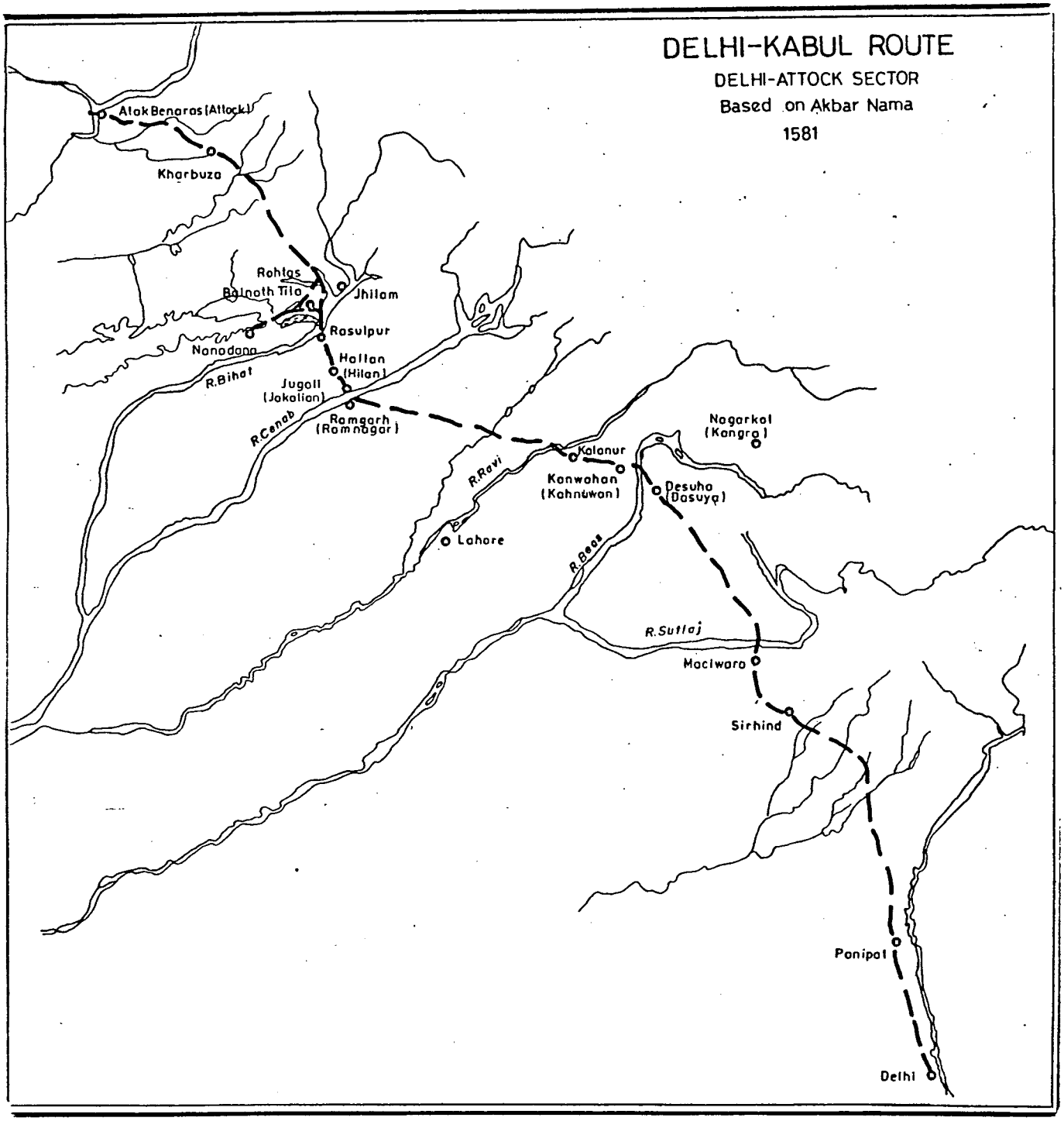
Mirza Hakim, with the plan to capture the throne of Hindustan, crossed the Indus in the month of December, 1580. His first target was Lahor which he could not capture due to the strong defence of the guard at the fort. Akbar was quite prepared to meet an invasion. He left the capital on 6th February 1581, (see Map 4.16A) with probably the largest army that he had ever led in his life. Father Monserrat who accompanied Akbar on this expedition writes that the army was well disciplined and every thing moved like clock-work. The news of the strength of Akbar's army (50,000 cavalry and 500 elephants besides numerous infantry and artillery) unnerved Mirza Hakim and he fled to Kabul. Akbar received the news of Hakim's retreat when he was near Sirhind but he decided to continue the expedition against Mirza Hakim.

Akbar after resting in the delightful gardens of Sirhind[385] for a few days, crossed the Sutlej at Maciwara by a bridge.[386] When Akbar crossed the river his plan was to visit Nagarkot,[387] about which he heard a lot. When a

385 AN, III, p. 509.

386 Ibid.

387 Ibid., p. 511. The town of Kangra, anciently known as Nagarkot, is built on the slopes of a hill on either side of the Ban-Ganga. Jahangir visited the town, and one of its gates is called, the Jahangiri Darwaza.


DELHI-KABUL ROUTE
DELHI-ATTOCK SECTOR
Based on Akbar Nama
1581
Atak Benaras (Attock)
Kharbuza
Rohtas
Balnoth Tila
Jhilam
Rasulpur
Nanadana
Hallan
(Hilan)
R.Bihat
Jugoli
(Jakalian)
R.Cenab
Ramgarh
(Ramnagar)
Nagarkot
(Kangra)
Kalanur
R.Ravi
Kanwahan
(Kahnuwan)
Desuha
(Dasuya)
Lahore
R.Beas
R.Sutlaj
Maciwara
Sirhind
Panipat
Delhi

Map 4·16A

watch of the night had passed, Akbar in order to rest, encamped in the town of Desuha.[388] During the night Akbar changed his programme to visit Nagarkot and crossed the Beas by a bridge between Khokowal[389] and Kanwahan[390] and arrived at the pleasant city of Kalanur.[391] A bridge was made over the Ravi and the river was crossed.[392] The Cenab (Chenab) was crossed at Ramgarh.[393] The Bihat was crossed by a bridge between Jhelam ferry and Rasulpur.[394] He stayed for some days near Bihar to enjoy hunting. Akbar also visited the city and the ancient fort of Nandana.[395] He also visited the shrine of Balnath Tillah. It was loftily situated

388 Ibid. It is Dasuya of modern maps and lies few miles east of the river Beas.

389 AN, III, p. 511. It is not possible to identify this place. Habib in the Atlas, (4A) shows a place Khokharwal, it can be Khokowal but it is quite far from the Kanwahan towards south.

390 AN, III, p. 511. Kahnuwan of modern maps.

391 Ibid.

392 Ibid., p. 513.

393 Ibid. It is probably Ramnagar of modern map.

394 Ibid.

395 Ibid. Possibility it is Nandanpur of Ain. It is Nandana of modern maps, lying west of the river Behat, south-west of Balanath Tila.

near Rohtas. According to Abul Fazl "it is so old that its beginning is not known. It is regarded as the prayer-spot of Balnath Jogi, and is held in veneration, and visited by many people.[396] Akbar also visited the fort Rohtas[397] on his way to Sind-sagar which according to Abul Fazl, was known as Nilab.[398] No place, excepting Kharbusa,[399] has been mentioned by Abul Fazl, between Rohtas and Indus.

Akbar encamped on the banks of the Indus and remained for quite some time arranging the affair of frontier regions. Raja Man Singh was sent to Peshawar[400] as Mirza Hakim did not reply to Akbar's message wanting to settle terms. The foundation stone of the fort of Atak Banares was also laid by Akbar during this period.[401] After staying for about a month or more on the bank of Indus, Akbar decided to proceed towards Kabul and encamped at the place where the Indus and Kabul river meet.[402] According to Abul Fazl,

396 AN, III, p. 514.

397 Ibid.

398 Ibid.

399 Ibid., p. 515. The location of Kharbuza (Khurbuzy) is shown in 19th century map, north-west of Rawalpindi.

400 AN, III, p. 518. After sending Raja Man Singh Akbar also despatched prince Murad with a strong force by the end of June 1581.

401 AN, III, p. 520. The place is known as Attock. Akbar chosed the name Attock Benaras in accordance with Katak Benaras (Cuttak, in Orissa). The other frontier town on the east of the empire.

402 AN, III, 523. Akbar must have crossed the river Indus, near Attock.

Akbar left "the main camp with an immense quantity of baggage on the banks of the Indus, and gave the command of that spot to Qasim Khan"[403]

Akbar moved from this place and encamped on the bank of the Kabul river on the next day,[404] at Daulatabad[405] (see Map 4.16B). Then they halted near Bigram[406] and Akbar spent some time in Gorkhattari[407] and stayed in the fort of Bigram. About this region Abul Fazl mentions that "this country is called Parshawar, and the general public also calls the city by this name."[408] When Mirza learnt that Akbar had halted near Bigram and the army was advancing under the command of the Prince, he prepared himself for battle. When Akbar perceived this, he resolved to reach this immediately and left Salim in charge of the main camp with an order that the camp should proceed on slowly, stage by stage.[409]

Akbar, himself halted at Jamrud[410] in the evening.

403 Ibid.

404 Ibid., p. 524.

405 Ibid. Daulatabad is mentioned frequently in AN and TJ but it is not possible it in the modern maps. However, with the help of the descriptions of the place in these sources it is possible to locate it, approximately.

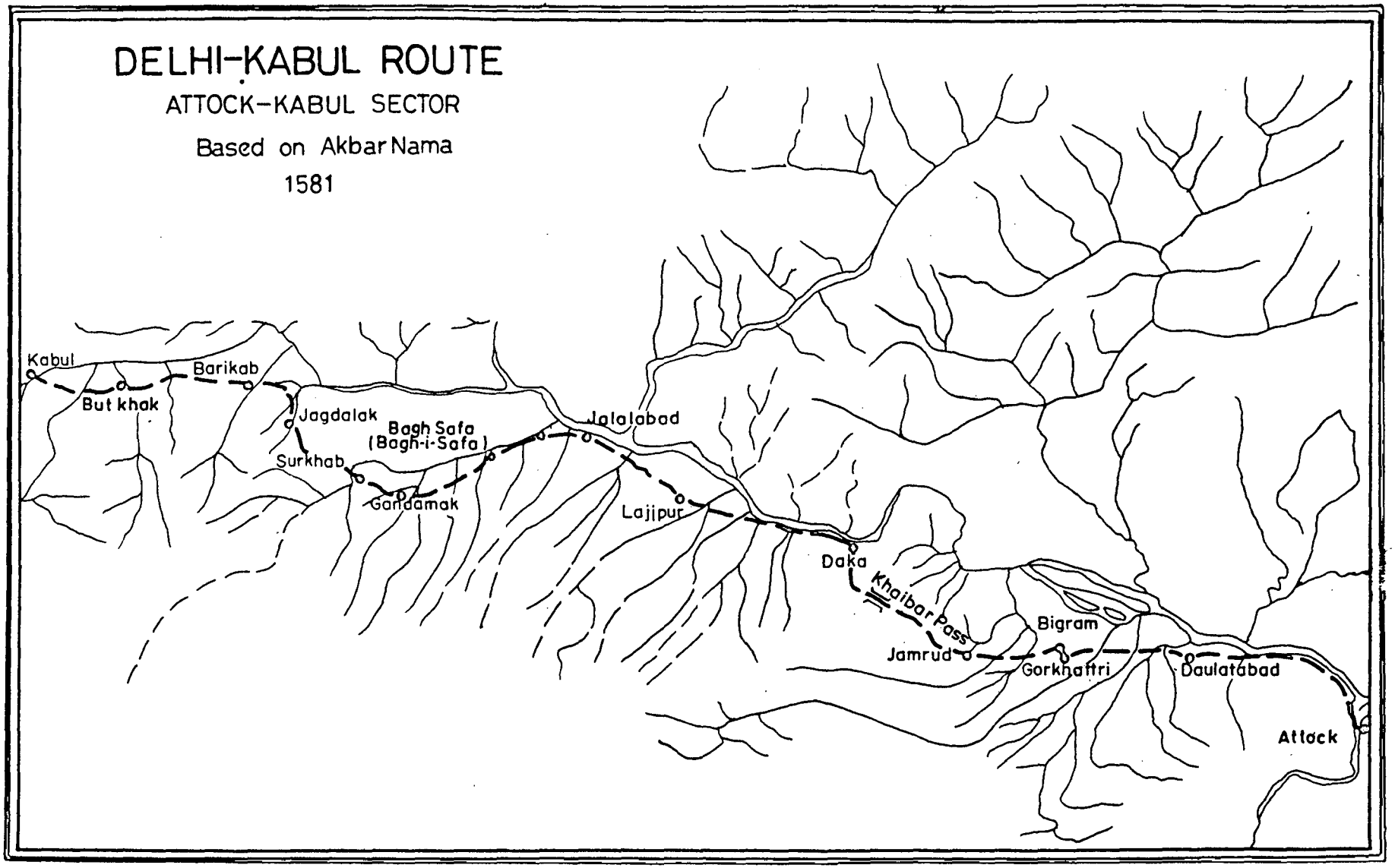
406 AN, III, p. 528.

407 Ibid.

408 Ibid.

409 Ibid.

410 Ibid., p. 529.


DELHI-KABUL ROUTE
ATTOCK-KABUL SECTOR
Based on Akbar Nama
1581
Kabul
Barikab
But khak
Jagdalak
Bagh Safa
(Bagh-i-Safa)
Surkhab
Gandamak
Jalalabad
Lajipur
Daka
Khaibar Pass
Bigram
Jamrud
Gorkhattri
Daulatabad
Attock

Map 4.16B

Next day at dawn, he went on rapidly and passed through the difficult defile of the Khaibar[411] and rested for a while in the neighbourhood of Daka[412] by the bank of the stream (Kabul). At the end of the day, when the air was cooler he proceeded to make a night-march and the next day halted at Lajipur.[413] In the morning he reached Jalalabad.[414] Next day he reached Bagh Safa[415] and then halted at Gandamak. At this place a false report of the defeat of Prince Murad, who was sent earlier to capture Kabul, reached Akbar at Gandamak.[416] Akbar however, moved on and halted at Surkhab[417] and the next day at Jagdalak.[418]

At the time when they were moving from Surkhab to

411 Ibid.

412 Ibid. The distance between Jamrud and Daka, which lies on the right (southern) bank of the Kabul river, at the end of Khaibar defill is 33 miles. Settlements to the west of Daka are very scanty due to the sandy area some fifty miles in length and entirely surrounded by high and dry mountains.

413 Ibid. Approximate location has been shown on the map. The place is not marked on any of the maps consulted.

414 Ibid.

415 Ibid. In this region various gardens were planted by the Mughals but the names of the gardens have changed in due course of time. Thus it is not possible to identify which of the present day gardens was known as Bagh-safa. However, its approximate location has been shown on the map.

416 AN, III, p. 530.

417 Ibid.

418 Ibid., p. 521.

Jagdalak swift messengers brought the news of victory.[419] Next day Akbar encamped at Barikab[420] and on 25 (7th August) he halted at Butkhak.[421] At this stage Kaur Man Singh and many other officers did homage. Next morning Akbar marched on and the prince (Murad) and other high officers paid their respects. Akbar in an auspicious hour on 29th (9 or 10th August 1581) seated himself in the citadel of Kabul[422] and stayed there for twenty days.

4.2.1.6 Akbar's Expedition to Attock (1585-86)

Mirza Hakim died on 30th July 1585[423] leaving behind him two minor princes and a disturbed Kabul. There was a danger of civil war in Kabul and of a threat of invasion from Uzbeks, who already had conquered Badkhshan the previous year. Thus Kuar Man Singh was asked to proceed rapidly to Kabul with a force to control the situation.[424] Akbar himself started for Punjab and reached Delhi on 11th September 1585.[425]

419 Ibid., p. 539.

420 Ibid.

421 Ibid.

422 Ibid., p. 540.

423 Ibid., p. 703.

424 Ibid., pp. 704-705.

425 Ibid., p. 705.

The imperial army proceeded from Delhi by Sonpat (see Map 4.17) and Panipat and on 13 Mihr (about 24th September) reached Thanessar.[426] Akbar also dispatched Mir Sardr Jahan Mufti and Banda Ali Maidani to Kabul in order that they might go quickly and soothe the people.[427] Akbar proceeded by Shahabad and Ambala and halted on 18th at Sirhind.[428] He enjoyed the delightful gardens there, which were famed for their beauty.

On the 24th Mihr, Akbar crossed the Sutlej at Maciwara[429] by a bridge and halted his army near Dihakdar.[430] He went on by Hadiabad,[431] Jalandhar[432] and Sultanpur.[433] On 1st Abad he made a bridge over Biah at Jalalabad[434] and

426 Ibid. All these places are still prominent and are lying on the main route linking Delhi with Punjab. The distance between all these places was between 25-28 miles. It seems that these places were developed as convinient halting places for the army and for the traders and the travellers by this time.

427 Ibid.

428 Ibid. All these places are still along the national high way.

429 AN, III, p. 706.

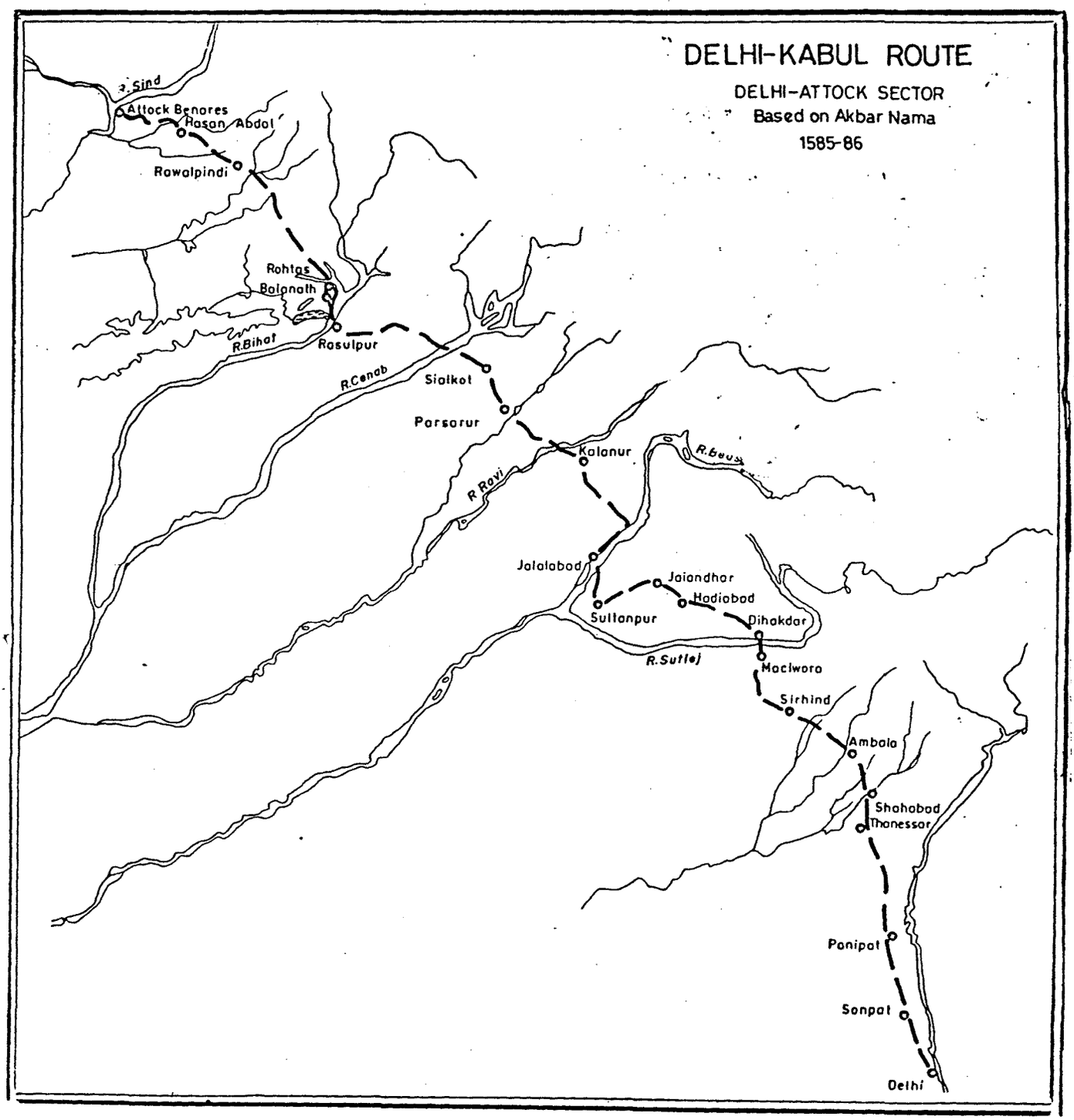
430 Ibid. It is not possible to locate Dihakdar in the maps. However, with the help of the description given by Abul Fazl it is possible to show the approximate location of the place in the map.

431. Ibid. Haideabad lies few miles south-east of Jalandhar.

432 Ibid.

433 Ibid. It is not clear why Akbar deviated from the main route to reach upto Sultanpur which is far off from the main road.

434 Ibid. Jalalabad is not shown in the modern maps, but


DELHI-KABUL ROUTE
DELHI-ATTOCK SECTOR
Based on Akbar Nama
1585-86
Sind
Attock Benares
Hasan Abdal
Rawalpindi
Rohtas
Bolanath
R.Bihat
Rasulpur
R.Cenab
Sialkot
Parsarur
Kalanur
R.Beus
R.Ravi
Jalalabad
Jaiandhar
Hadiabad
Sultanpur
Dihakdar
R.Sutlej
Maciwara
Sirhind
Ambala
Shahabad
Thanessar
Panipat
Sonpat
Delhi

Map 4.17

crossed his troops. Akbar himself crossed on an elephant. On 6th he reached Kalanur[435] and enjoyed himself in the garden. On 14th Akbar crossed the Cenab by a bridge in the territory of Parsarur (Pasaur) and encamped near Sialkot.[436] On 24th the army encamped near Rasulpur[437] and on 27th crossed the Bihat by a bridge. On 7th Azar they encamped at Rohtas[438] and Akbar climbed the hill of Balnath[439] and interviewed some of the ascetics. From Rohtas Qasim Khan was sent on to level the road upto Indus. After wards he was to make the Khaibar and the road to Kabul passable for carriages. In a short time he accomplished this."[440]

Many of the nobles were of the opinion that Akbar should not go beyond Rohtas. But Akbar's plan was to settle the issue of Kabul and to crush the forces of tribals creating problems for the passangers on the Khaibar highway, so

Cont'd.. f.n. 434

it is there on the Hugel's Map. It is also possible that settlement was established by Akbar himself, which lost its significance in due course of time and vanished.

435 Ibid., p. 707.

436 Ibid., p. 703. There is some mistake in this information as both Pasrur and Sialkot lie east of Chenab. Akbar must have stayed in Pasrur and Sialkot only after that he could have crossed the Chenab river, near Sialkot.

437 Ibid., p. 709.

438 Ibid.

439 Ibid.

440 Ibid.

he went on and reached Rawalpindi[441] on 25th (7th December, 1585). On 2 Dai, Akbar encamped at Hasan Abdal[442] and from there forces were despatched to Kashmir. Zain Khan Koka was also sent off, to guide the Yusufzai and to conquer Swat and Bajaur.[443] From Hasan Abdal, Akbar reached Atak Benares[444] (Attock on Dai (23rd December, 1585). According to Abul Fazl, Akbar completed his journey (from Fatehpur Sikri to Attock) of slightly more than 305 miles in four months and 1 day and in sixty five marches.[445]

According to Abul Fazl, Akbar spent three months and twelve days plesantly in Attock Benares.[446] In fact, Akbar's stay in Attock was far from pleasant, as in an expedition against Yusufzai, died one of his most close friend and companions, Bir Bar (Birbal). The shock of the defeat and sorrow of the death of Birbal was so much that for two days Akbar did not meet anybody and remained in confinement.

441 Ibid., p. 709. The region where Rawalpindi is located has remained important throughout the historical past, due to its strategic location, though the town is not of ancient origin but since medieval period it attainted prominence.

442 Ibid., p. 714.

443 Ibid., p. 715.

444 Ibid., p. 717.

445 Ibid.

446 Ibid., p. 744.

4.2.1.7 Akbar's Expedition from Kabul to Lahor (1589-90)

Akbar visited the beautiful valley of Kashmir in 1589. While in Kashmir, he decided to go to Kabul to settle some of the outstanding matters. He returned from Kabul and reached Lahor in 1590 where he stayed till 1598 to protect India, especially the North-West from any possible attack by Uzbeks. Akbar, in his return journey, started from Kabul in the middle of November (13th or 14th) and encamped at Safed Sang, in the environs of Kabul.[447] From there when he reached Begram,[448] (see Map 4.18A) it was reported to him that Raja Todar Mal had died on 8th November 1589. He got the news of the death of Raja Bhagwan Das when he was at Barihab.[449]

When the camp was at Gandamak,[450] Akbar gave orders to the officers to arrange stations for holding of a qamargha hunt in the plain of Arzana.[451] Next day he passed from

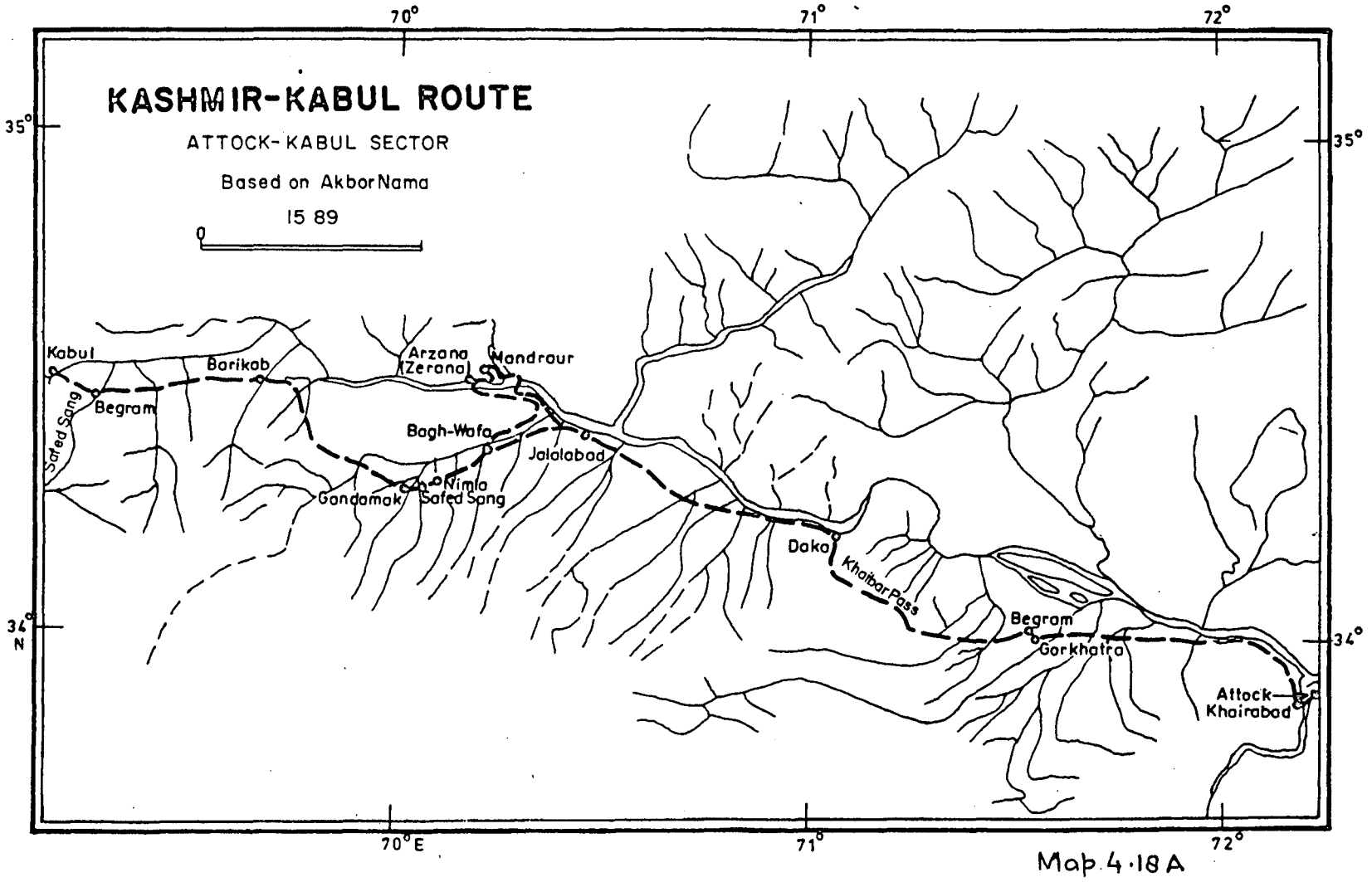
447 Ibid., p. 861. Safed Sang is shown in same maps, south of Kabul.

448 Ibid. There were three Bigrams, one near Peshawar, another near Qandahar and this one east of Kabul. All these Begrams were close to important cities. This needs to be explained.

449 AN, III, p. 863.

450 Ibid.

451 Ibid. There is no place of this name. However, north of Baran river there is place Zerana, close to Mandraur. The difference between these two places in persian script is very little. Moreover the description of the hunt also suggest that it was after Mandraur.


KASHMIR-KABUL ROUTE
ATTOCK-KABUL SECTOR
Based on AkborNama
15 89
0
70°
71°
72°
35°
34°
N
70° E
Kabul
Barikab
Arzana
Zerana
Mandrour
Begram
Safed Sang
Bagh-Wafa
Jalalabad
Gandamak
Nimla
Safed Sang
Dako
Khaibar Pass
Begram
Gorkhatra
Attock-
Khairabad

Map 4·18 A

the Bagha Wafa[452] and came to Kushkul.[453] Abul Fazl, mentions a few places where Akbar stayed and visited which are not possible to identify. However, by this time arrangements of the hunt were completed and all officers were sent off in order to guard the stations.[454] Abul Fazl, describes the hunt as follows, "on the side was Nimla and on the other side Daka, which is a distance of the twelve Kos.[455] And beasts were driven from the mountains to the plain of Arzana.[456] They enjoyed hunting for two days. After the hunting, Akbar reached Jalalabad after visiting Lamghanat on the way.[457] He passed from the Tuman of Sandaur[458] to Masaudabad.[459]

452 Ibid.

453 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.

454 Ibid., p. 865.

455 Ibid. The knowledge of Abul Fazl about this region seems to be incomplete and inaccurate. The distance between Daka and Nimla, even if we take crowsfly distance, is more than double, mentioned by Abul Fazl.

456 Ibid.

457 Ibid. As mentioned above, Akbar from Arzana hunting ground reached Jalalabad via Lamghanant which means Mandraur. This justifies the identification of Arzana as Zerana.

458 Ibid. It seems to be an error. The tuman may be Mandraur, which was the real Lamghanat.

459 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this tuman.

Akbar from there encamped near Allah Baqa[460] and after two days encamped at Barik Ab[461] at the Khwaja Yaqut Serai. While hunting near Daka,[462] Akbar met with an accident and was hurt. He recovered soon and continued the journey. The army crossed the Indus by a bridge[463] (see Map 4.18B) on 10th Bahman (20th January 1590). On the 22nd Akbar encamped at the Serai of Zainuddin Ali[464] and spent two days in the pleasure of hunting. Next day he halted at Hasan Abdal.[465] On 2nd Isfadarmuz, near Kahuriya[466] news came of the death of Rajah Gopal Jadun. On the 9th Akbar came to Rohtas.[467] The Jhelum was crossed after making bridges in two places near Rasulpur[468] on 12th. While Akbar was encamped, near

460 Ibid. There is no place of this name in any of maps and in any other source. The only possibility is that it was also a distortion for Ali Baghan, where Jahangir stayed in 1607 during his visit to Kabul.

461 Ibid. It is not possible to locate this Barikab in any of the maps or sources. The only place with some resemblence with this name is Barikao of the map prepared during the times of Amir Abdur Rehman.

462 AN, II, p. 866.

463 Ibid.

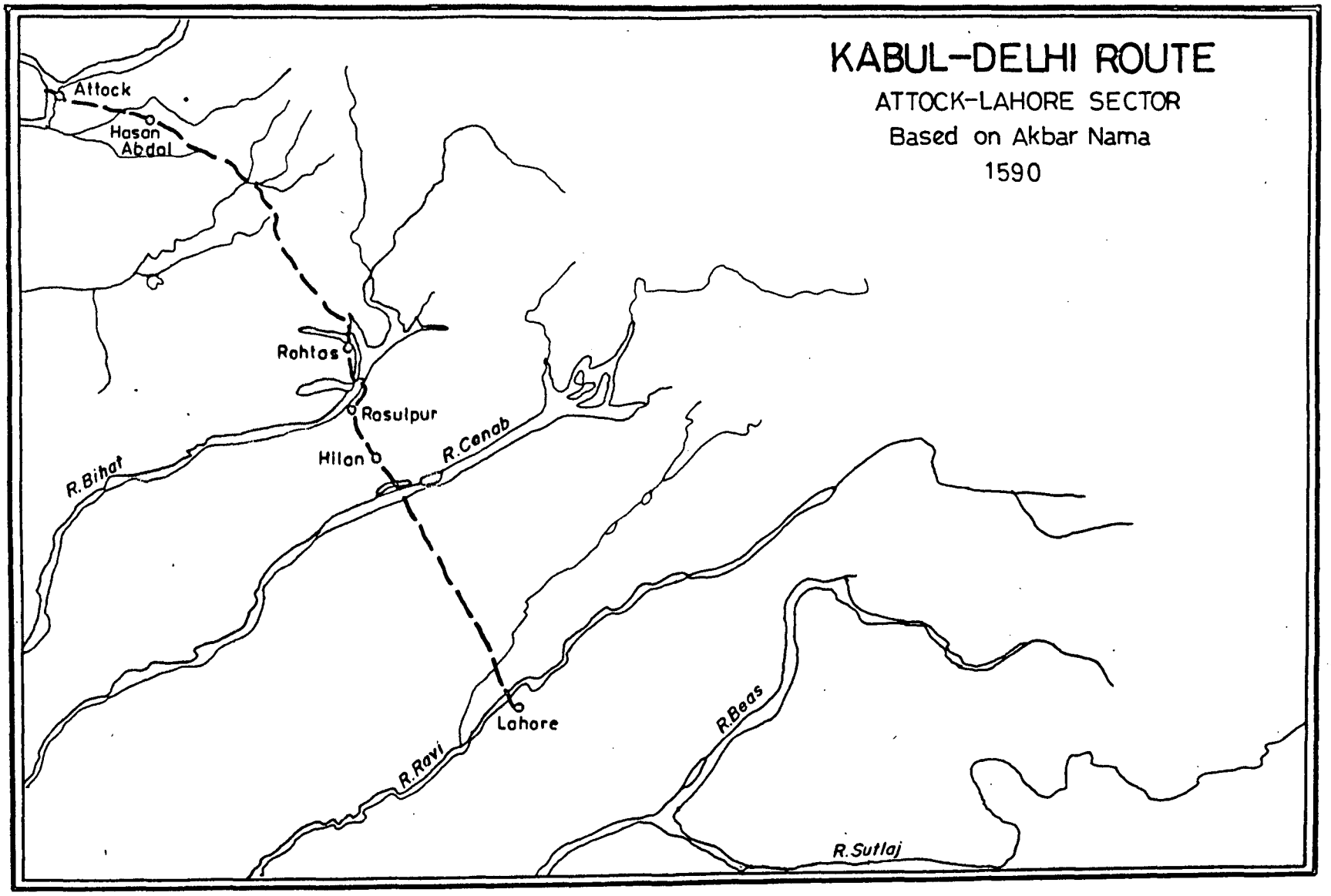
464 Ibid., p. 868. It is not possible to identify this Serai.

465 Ibid.

466 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.

467 Ibid., p. 869.

468 Ibid.


KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
ATTOCK-LAHORE SECTOR
Based on Akbar Nama
1590
Attock
Hasan Abdal
Rohtas
Rasulpur
Hilan
R. Jehat
R. Chenab
Lahore
R. Ravi
R. Beas
R. Sutlaj

Map 4.18 B

Hilan[469] he met with another accident, a fall from the elephant, but he continued his journey and crossed the Cinab by the two bridges at the passage of Bani Kabin.[470] Akbar entered the city of Lahor on 2nd Farwardin.[471] Abul Fazl mentions that "From Kabul to Lahore he traversed 196 Kos, 28 Poles, in four months less by two days and in 53 marches. The whole expedition lasted 10 months, 14 days."[472]

4.2.1.8 Jahangir's Expedition to Kabul (1607)

Jahangir visited Kabul in 1607. He gives the following reason for this visit. "When I was at ease about Khusrau's disturbance, and the repulse of the Qizil-bashes, who had invested Qandahar, had been brought about in a facile way, it came into my mind to make a hunting tour of Kabul, which is like my native land. After that I would return to Hindustan, when the purpose of my mind would pass from design to action."[473] Thus, Jahangir, started from Lahor on 7th Zilhijja and stayed in the Dil-amiz Garden, which was on the other side of the Ravi for four days.[474]

469 Ibid.

470 Ibid., p. 870. It is not possible to identify this place.

471 Ibid., p. 871.

472 Ibid. This expedition was a long one as Akbar visited Kashmir and Kabul during this period.

473 T.J., I, p. 90.

474 Ibid.

On Monday, the 11th, he marched from the garden and encamped at the village of Harhar,[475] 3½ kos distant from the city (see Map 4.19A). On Tuesday they halted at Jahangirpur,[476] which was one of Jahangir's fixed hunting places. The king ordered the jagirdar of the pargana to build a strong fort in the village of Jahangirpur. On Thursday, the 14th he encamped in the pargana of Chandala.[477] Thence on Saturday, making one stage in the middle he came to Hafizabad.[478] Having reached Chenab in two marches on Thursday he crossed the river by a bridge which had been built there. Jahangir's camp was pitched in the neighbourhood of pargana of Gujarat.[479] About the origin of Gujarat Jahangir mentions: "At the time when ... Akbar went to Kashmir, a fort had been built on that bank of the river. Having brought to this fort a body of Gujars who had passed their time in the neighbourhood in thieving and highway robbery, he established them here. As it had become the

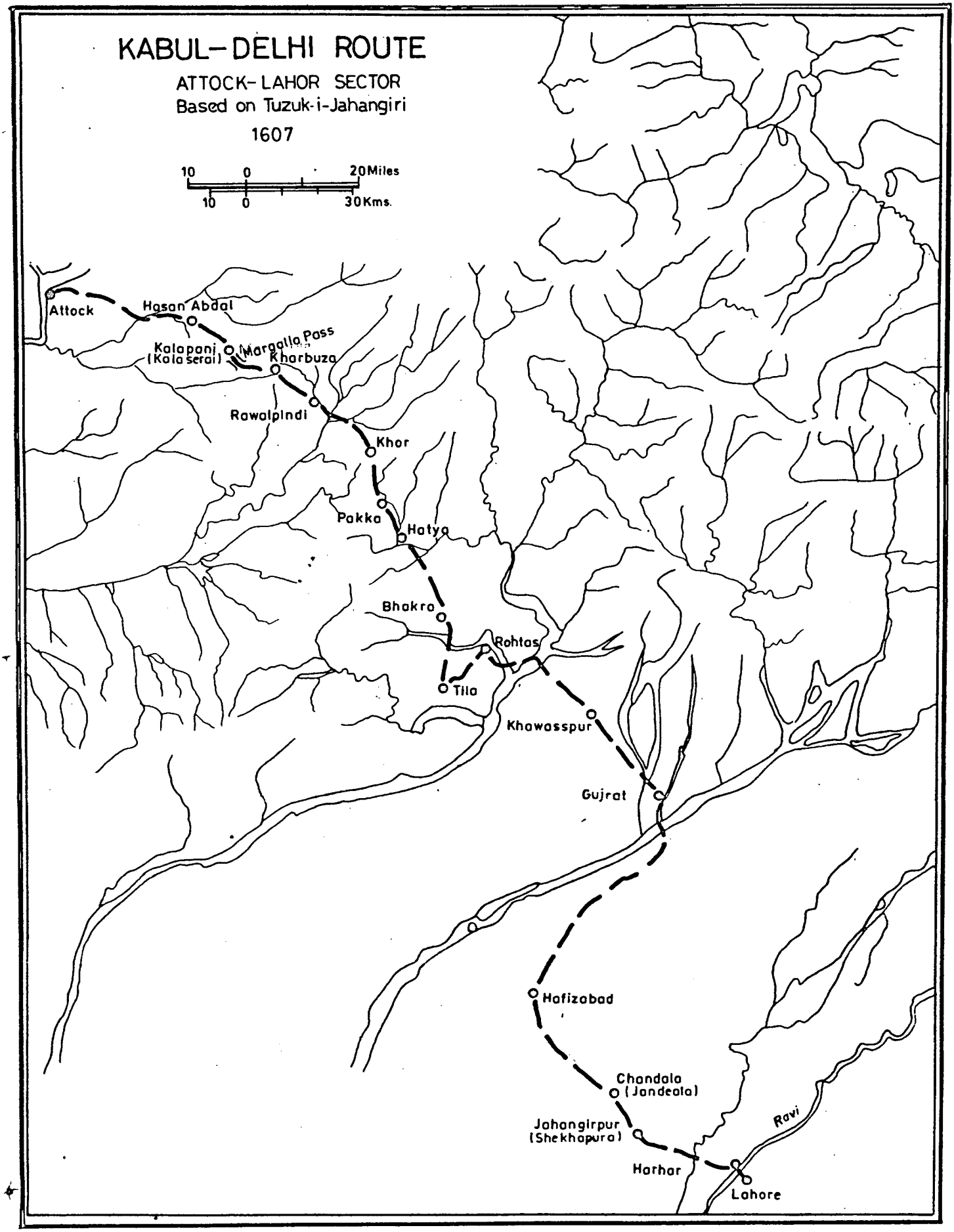
475 Ibid. It is not possible to find this place in any of the maps consulted but it can be located with the help of the distance mentioned by Jahangir.

476 Ibid. There is no place at present with this name. May be Jahangirpur became Shekhopur later on as Jahangir was also known as Shekho during his princehood.

477 T.J., I, p. 91.

478 Ibid.

479 Ibid.


KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
ATTOCK-LAHOR SECTOR
Based on Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
1607
10 0 20 Miles
10 0 30 Kms.
Attock
Hasan Abdal
Kalapani (Kala serai)
Margalla Pass
Kharbuza
Rawalpindi
Khor
Pakka
Hatya
Bhakra
Rohtas
Tila
Khawasspur
Gujrat
Hafizabad
Chandala (Jandeala)
Jahangirpur (Shekhapura)
Harhar
Ravi
Lahore

Map 4 19A

abode of Gujars he made it a separate pargana, and gave it the name of Gujarat."[480]

On Friday, the 22nd Zilhijja the camp was pitched at Khawasspur,[481] five kos from Gujarat. This settlement was established by Khawass Khan, a slave of Shir Khan Afghan. Thence, with two halts in the middle they encamped on the bank of the Bihat.[482] That day it rained so heavily that old men remembered no such. From the flooding of the river and the force of the wind and rain, the bridge broke. Jahangir along with the ladies of the harem crossed the river in a boat.[483] About the bridge he mentions that as "there were few boats, I ordered the men not to cross in these but to rebuild the bridge. It was finished in a week and the whole army crossed with ease."[484]

On Saturday the 1st of Muharram (18th April, 1607) they left the bank of the Bihat, and with one day between reached the fort of Rohtas[485] which was built by Shir Shah Khan Jahangir praised the strength of the fort and says, "this fort was founded in a cleft of the ground and the strength of it cannot be imagined. As the place is near

480 Ibid.

481 Ibid.

482 Ibid., p. 92.

483 Ibid.

484 Ibid.

485 Ibid., p. 96.

the Ghakkar territory, and they are a proud and rebellious people, he had looked to this fort specially as a means of punishing and defeating them."[486]

On Tuesday, having travelled four kos and three-quarters he encamped at Tila.[487] Thence he came down to the village of Bhakra.[488] In the Ghakkar language Bhakra means a jungle. Jahangir came the whole way from Tila to Bhakra in the middle of the river-bed which had running water in it. On Thursday they halted at Hatya.[489] According to Jahangir they call the place Hatya because it was founded by a Ghakkar named Bati[490] (elephant). From Margalla to Hatya the country is called Pothuwar...[491] From Rohtas to Hatya is the place and abode of of Bhugyals[492] who are related to and of the same ancestry as the Ghakkars."[493]

Marching on Friday they travelled 4½ kos and encamped

486 Ibid.

487 Ibid. It is Tita of Balnath of AN.

488 Ibid. The place is not shown in the modern maps but in the old maps (19th century) one place Bukrala is shown north of Rohtas.

489 TJ, I, p. 97.

490 Babar in 1519, went to Parhala, the capital of Chakkars (kakar) to punish Hati Kakar.

491 It is known as Potwar Plateau. For details please see, physi-graphic divisions (Section 2.1.1.3).

492 They are descendants of Sultan Buga.

493 TJ, I, p. 97.

at Pakka.[494] This place according to Jahangir is called Pakka because the sarai is of burnt brick. Jahangir found the station, strangely full of dust and earth. Jahangir mentions that, "the carts reached it with great difficulty owing to the badness of the road. They had brought from Kabul to this place rivaj (rhubazb), which was mostly spoiled."[495] On Saturday, they marched 4½ kos and encamped at the village of Khar,[496] which according to Jahangir, in Ghakkar language is a word for rent and breakage. On Sunday, they halted at Rawalpindi, the village (Pindi) was established by Rawal.[497]

On Monday, they encamped at the village of Kharbuza.[498] About this name Jahangir provides an interesting information as he mentions "the Ghakkars in earlier times had built a dome here and taken tolls from travellers. As the dome was shaped like a melon it became known by that name."[499] Next day, he halted at Kala-pani[500] which in

494 Ibid. The location shown in the map is only approximate.

495 TJ, I, p. 98.

496 Ibid. The location of Khar or Khor is approximate. Beveridge, H. in the footnote mentions that it is near Manikyala tope (TJ, I, p. 98, f.n. 1).

497 TJ, I, p. 98.

498 Ibid. The place is marked in Elphinstone's map also. Akbar in 1581 also stayed at that place.

499 Ibid.

500 Ibid. Perhaps it is Kala Serai of some maps, south-east of Hasan Abdal.

Hindi means black water. About the Margalla pass which lies close to this place Jahangir mentions that "in Hindi nar means to beat and galla is a caravan, the name therefore means the place of the plundering of the caravans. The boundary of the Ghakkar country is here."[501] On Wednesday, the 12th they encamped at Baba Hasan Abdal.[502]

On the 15th they halted at Amrohi[503] which was a wonderfully green place with no ups and downs. About this village Jahangir gives a lot of information which also explains its disappearance from the scene. "In this village and its neighbourhood there are 7,000 or 8,000 households of Khaturs and Dalazaks. All kinds of mischief and oppression and highway robbery take place through this tribe. I ordered the government of this region and Attock to be given to Safar Khan, son of Zain Khan Koka, and that by the time of the return of the royal standards from Kabul they should march all the Dalazaks to Lahore and capture the head men of the Khaturs and keep them in prison."[504]

On Monday, the 17th, a march was made, and with one stage in between they halted near the fort of Attock on the

501 Ibid., pp. 98-99.

502 Ibid., p. 99.

503 Ibid., p. 100. It is not possible to find this on any of the maps. The village has also been destroyed when the tribal were punished.

504 Ibid. Jahangir mention afterwards that "After performing that service and the conquest of those rebels ... and sending them off towards Lahore, he (Zafar Khan) came..." TJ, I, p. 127.

bank of the river Nilab.[505] The water of Nilab (Indus) was low during that time (it was 4th or 5th May) and accordingly a bridge had been made with eighteen boats, and they crossed over easily,[506] but not all of them. Jahangir, realised that Suba of Kabul could not support a large army, therefore, only the immediate attendants of the court were allowed to cross the river. Jahangir himself with few others, mounted on to a raft, crossed the river Indus safely and encamped on the bank of the river Kama.[507] According to Jahangir, "The Kama is a river that flows by the qasba Jalalabad."[508] With one stage in between, they halted at the serai of Bara.[509] (see Map 4.19B). Jahangir mentions that "on the other side of the river Kama there is a fort which Zain Khan Koka built at the time when he was appointed to subjugate the Yusufzai Afghans, and called Naushahr."[510]

They encamped at the serai of Daulatabad[511] on Thursday, the 25th and next day in the garden of Sardar Khan,

505 TJ, I, p. 101.

506 Ibid.

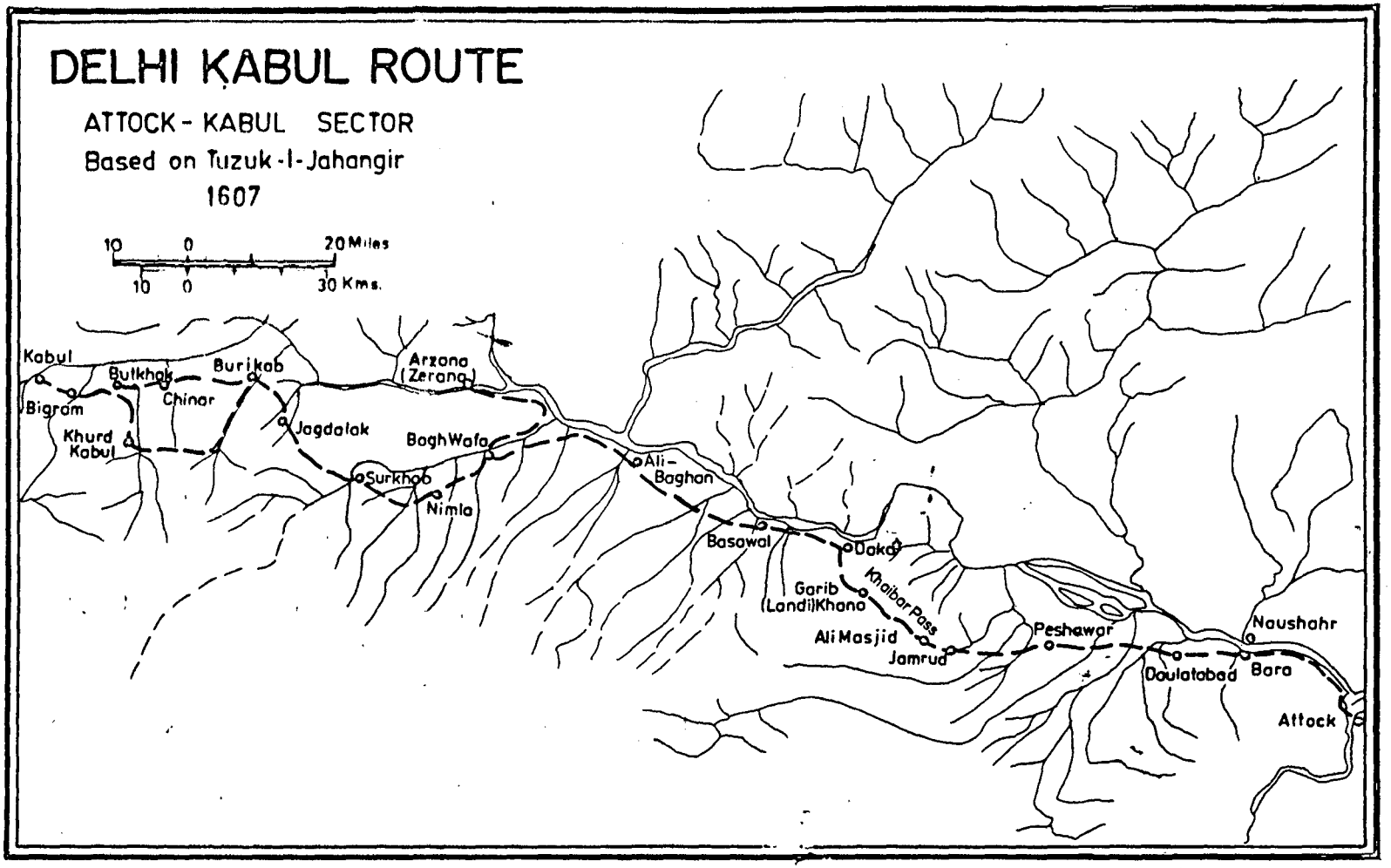
507 Ibid. The river Kabul, in the Kama region must have called as Kama river during that period.

508 Ibid.

509 Ibid., p. 102.

510 Ibid.

511 Ibid. Its location is approximate.


DELHI KABUL ROUTE
ATTOCK - KABUL SECTOR
Based on Tuzuk-I-Jahangir
1607
10 0 20 Miles
10 0 30 Kms.
Kabul
Butkhak
Burikab
Arzana (Zerang)
Bigram
Chinar
Khurd Kabul
Jagdalak
Bagh Wafa
Surkhab
Nimla
Ali-Baghan
Basawal
Daka
Garib (Landi) Khana
Khaibar Pass
Ali Masjid
Jamrud
Peshawar
Naushahr
Doulatabad
Bara
Attock

Map 419B

which was made in the neighbourhood of Peshawar.[512] On Thursday, the 27th, they arrived at the halting-place of Jamrud,[513] and on Friday, at the Khaibar Kotal and encamped at Ali Masjid.[514] On Saturday Jahangir traversed the tortuous Pass and encamped at Gharib-Khana.[515] At the stage of Daka[516] gilas (cherries) were brought from Kabul for the King. On Tuesday 2nd Safar, they encamped at Basawal,[517] which was on the bank of the river.

It is not clear whether Jahangir stayed or not at Ala Bughana[518] but he recalls that "on the mountain of Ala Bughana, at the time when my revered father went to Kabul, I had a gamargah hunt, and killed several red deer."[519] On Wednesday (10th Sagar) Jahangir encamped at Surkhab,[520] thence he halted at Jagadalak.[521] On Friday, the 12th, he

512 Ibid.

513 Ibid.

514 Ibid.

515 Ibid.

516 Ibid.

517 Ibid., p. 103.

518 It should be Ali Baghan. In AN perhaps the same place is referred to as Allah Bega (AN, III, p. 865).

519 TJ, I, p. 103.

520 Ibid., p. 104.

521 Ibid.

encamped at Ab-i-barik[522] (Barik-ab) and Saturday at Yurt-i-padshah.[523] On Sunday, they halted at Khurd Kabul[524] (Kabul Khurd). From there he encamped at Bikrami[525] (Big-ram). They entered the Shahr-ara garden of Kabul on Thurs-day, the 17th of Safar.[526] After staying for some time in Kabul he returned to Lahor, hunting at various places including the ground of the Arziana plain, where Akbar hunted in 1589.[527]

4.2.1.9 William Finch's Journey from Agra to Lahor (1611)

One of the most interesting and useful narratives dealing with the reign of Jahangir is that of William Finch, who landed with Hawkins at Surat on 24th August 1608 and stayed in India for nearly four years.[528] Finch obser-ved the manners and customs of the people and described many aspects of Indian life in a way that no other traveller did. Finch provides not only a detailed account of the routes, with all its stages but throws light on the real travelling conditions of the frequently used routes in the country. Fortunately, he describes the Agra-Lahor route on which he

522 Ibid.

523 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.

524 Ibid.

525 Ibid. It is Bigram of AN.

526 Ibid., p. 105.

527 Ibid., p. 125. Perhaps it is Zerana.

528 Prasad, R.C., Early English Travellers in India, p.210.

travelled to sell indigo which he had purchased at Biana, on behalf of his company.

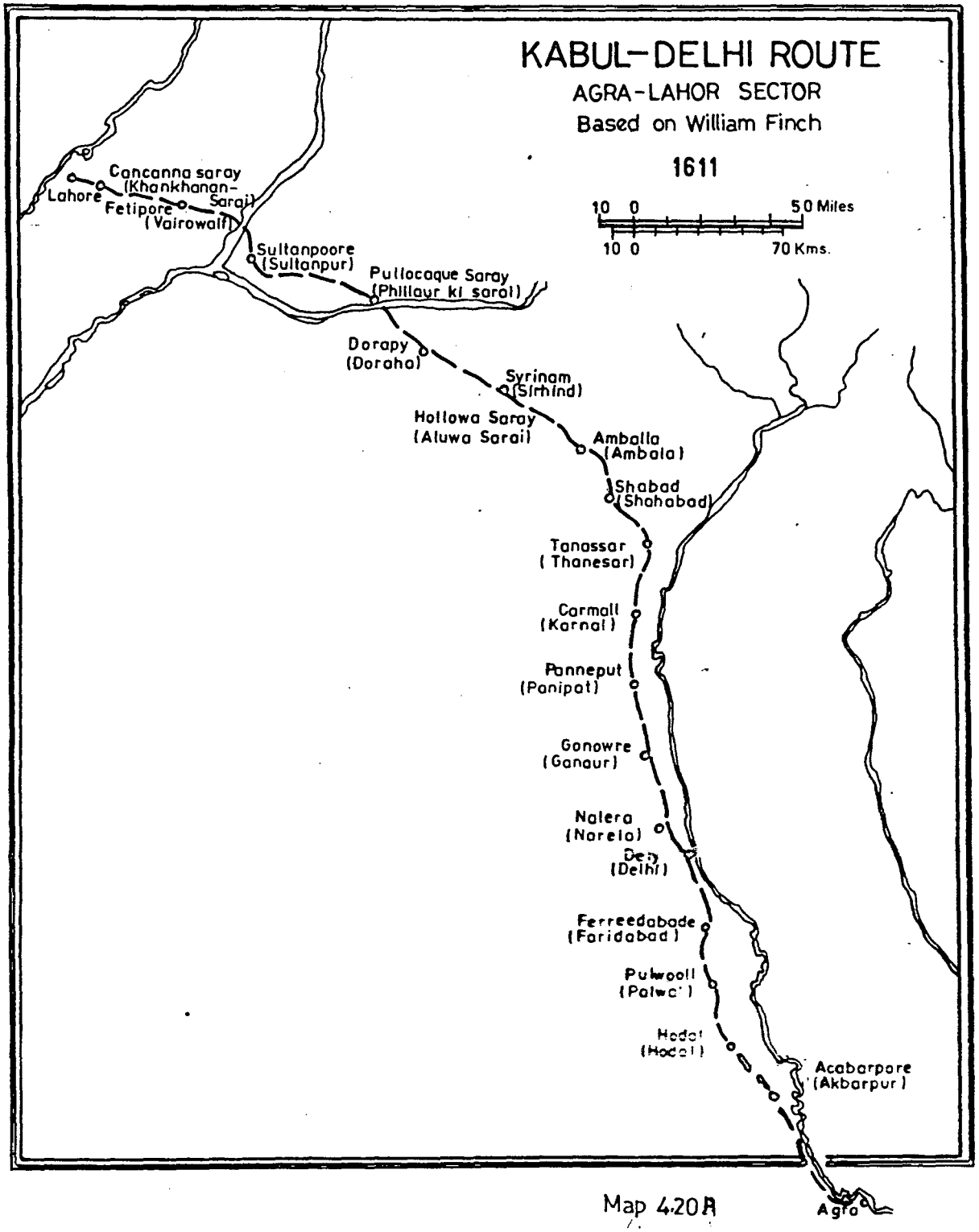
Traverlling by way of Delhi, Ambala and Sultanpur, he reached his destination in early February 1611. Lahor was at that time second only to Agra in importance (this is confirmed by other travellers, who travelled after the decline of Delhi) as it virtually became the permanent residence of the Mughal Kings (Akbar 1585-1598 and Jahangir). The account of Finch's journey to Lahor gives us an idea of the real problems faced by a trader or traveller on this route, which obviously the Mughal King did not face. Moreover, unlike the Mughal kings, who travelled on this route either under political compulsions or for pleasure, Finch took the most direct and established route between Agra and Lahor.

Finch started from Agra on 9th January 1611, to recover debts and carried twelve carts laden with indigo in the hope of a good price (see Map 4.20A). The places he passed were Rownoeta[529] (Rankota) which was 12 courses (Koss); Badeg Sara,[530] 10 courses (Koss); Acabarpore[531] (Akbarpur); 12 courses which according to Finch was a great city famous for antiquities of Indian gosains or saints. From Akbarpur

529 Foster, W., Early Travels in India 1583-1619, p. 155.

530 Ibid.; This cannot b

531 Ibid.


KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
AGRA-LAHOR SECTOR
Based on William Finch
1611
10 0 50 Miles
10 0 70 Kms.
Concanna saray (Khankhanan-Sarai)
Lahore
Fetipore (Vairowalf)
Sultanpoore (Sultanpur)
Pullocaque Saray (Phillaur kl sarai)
Dorapy (Doraha)
Syrinam (Sirhind)
Hollowa Saray (Aluwa Sarai)
Amballa (Ambala)
Shabad (Shahabad)
Tanassar (Thanesar)
Carnall (Karnal)
Panneput (Panipat)
Gonowre (Ganaur)
Nalera (Narela)
Dely (Delhi)
Ferreedabade (Faridabad)
Pulwooll (Palwal)
Hodal (Hodal)
Acabarpore (Akbarpur)
Agra

Map 4.20A

he reached Houdle[532] (Hodal) 13 courses; where at the entrance of the Sarai was a fair fountain (i.e. well) three stories and one hundred steps, Pulwooll[533] (Palwal) 12 courses; Ferreedabade[534] (Faridabad) 12 courses; Dely[535] (Delhi) 10 courses. Finch described the ruined city of Delhi at length and mentioned about its nine castles and fifty two gates, which were inhabited by Guggers. He also mentions Humayun's tomb which was well kept, covered with rich carpets. He also writes that "the Kings of India are here to be crowned, or else they are held usurpers."[536]

From Delhi Finch reached Nalero[537] (Narula) which was 14 courses. On their way they met faujdar of Delhi with some 2000 horses and foot, in pursuit of thieves. William Finch mentions that "some part of this way was theevish."[538] However they reached Gonowre[539] (Ganaur) 14 courses and then "Panneput (Panipat) 14 courses where at the entry was place a manora (minar) with the heads of some hundred

532 Ibid.

533 Ibid.

534 Ibid.

535 Ibid.

536 Ibid., p. 156.

537 Ibid.

538 Ibid., p. 157.

539 Ibid.

theives newly taken."[540] From Panipat he reached Carmall[541] (Karnal) which was 14 courses long full of theives, Finch, however, was saved on account of his "place language". The next was Tanassar[542] (Thanesar) 14 courses where there was a castle, a good tank and near that were temples, famous throughout India. Next stages were, Shabad[543] (Shahbad) 10 courses, Amballa[544] (Ambala) 12 courses; Hollowa Saray[545] (Aluwa Sarai) 14 courses.

From the Hollowa Saray, Finch moved on to Syrinam[546] (Sirhind) 7 courses, which had a fair tank with a summer house in the middle and a beautiful garden. From there they passed to Dorapy[547] (Doraha) 15 courses, Pullocque Saray[548] (Phillaur-ki-Sarai) 13 courses, Nicodar[549] (Nakodar) 12 courses, Sultanpoor[550] (Sultanpur) 11 courses; Fetipore[551]

540 Ibid.

541 Ibid., p. 158.

542 Ibid.

543 Ibid.

544 Ibid.

545 Ibid. It is not possible to locate this sarai.

546 Ibid.

547 Ibid.

548 Ibid. Phillaur, which was never mentioned by any of the writer earlier, it seems, established by this time a permanent ferry.

549 Ibid.

550 Ibid.

551 Ibid.

(Fatehpur) 7 courses. Finch gives in detail the revolt of prince Khusrau against Jahangir and mentions that this place was established in the memory of the victory of Jahangir over his son. From Fatehpur he moved on to Hoghe Moheede,[552] 10 courses, Cancana Saray[553] (Khankhanan Sarai) 12 courses and reached Lahor,[554] 7 courses on 4th February.

Finch describes the Lahor city as, "one of the greatest cities of East, containing some 24C. in circuit by the ditch which is now casting up about it, and by the kings command now to be enclosed with a strong wall. In the times of the Potans it was but a village, Multan than flourishing till Hamanin (Humayun) enlarged this. The town and suburb is some 6c. the inhabitants most Beneans and handicrafts men, all white men of note lying in the suburbs."[555] Finch also mentions in detail about the court of Jahangir, the nobles, palaces etc. in detail.

Finch, describes few events of the period which are useful from the point of view of this study. First he mentions that on 28th February 1611 arrived to Persian Ambassador (Yadgar Ali Sultan) with a great caravan. Finch got the information from them that the way to Qandahar was

552 Ibid., p. 160. It is not possible to locate this sarai.

553 Ibid. Approdimate location is given.

554 Ibid.

555 Ibid., p. 161.

now clear, as the war between Persians and Turks had ended.[556] Finch also mentions that on 17th of May, "came news of the sacking of Cabul (Kabul) by Potan (Pathan) thieves which kept in the mountains, being eleven thousand foot and one thousand horses; the Governor thereof being at Gelalabade (Jalalabad) about other affairs and the garrison so weak that they spoiled the city and returned with great booty. The king for better awing of these rebels, hath placed twenty three ombraes betwixt Lahor and Cabul; and yet all will not serve, they often sallying from the mountains, robbing caravans and ransacking towns."[557] Significantly, on 18th of August arrived another great caravan from Persia, by whom Finch had news of "affaires betwixt the Turk and Persians; he having destroyed the country about Tauris (Tabiz) reached the citie, and filled up the wells to hinter the Turks armie; the merchants by this means (to our griefe) not daring to adventure beyond Candhar."[558]

This information gives us an idea of the conditions of the routes in the North-West India, connecting Lahor, Kabul and Qandahar. Though the routes were still not totally secure but the king and the administration were trying to keep the tribals in control and to make journies safe to strengthen the economic links between India and Persia and other surrounding countries.

556 Ibid.
557 Foster, p. 167.
558 Ibid.

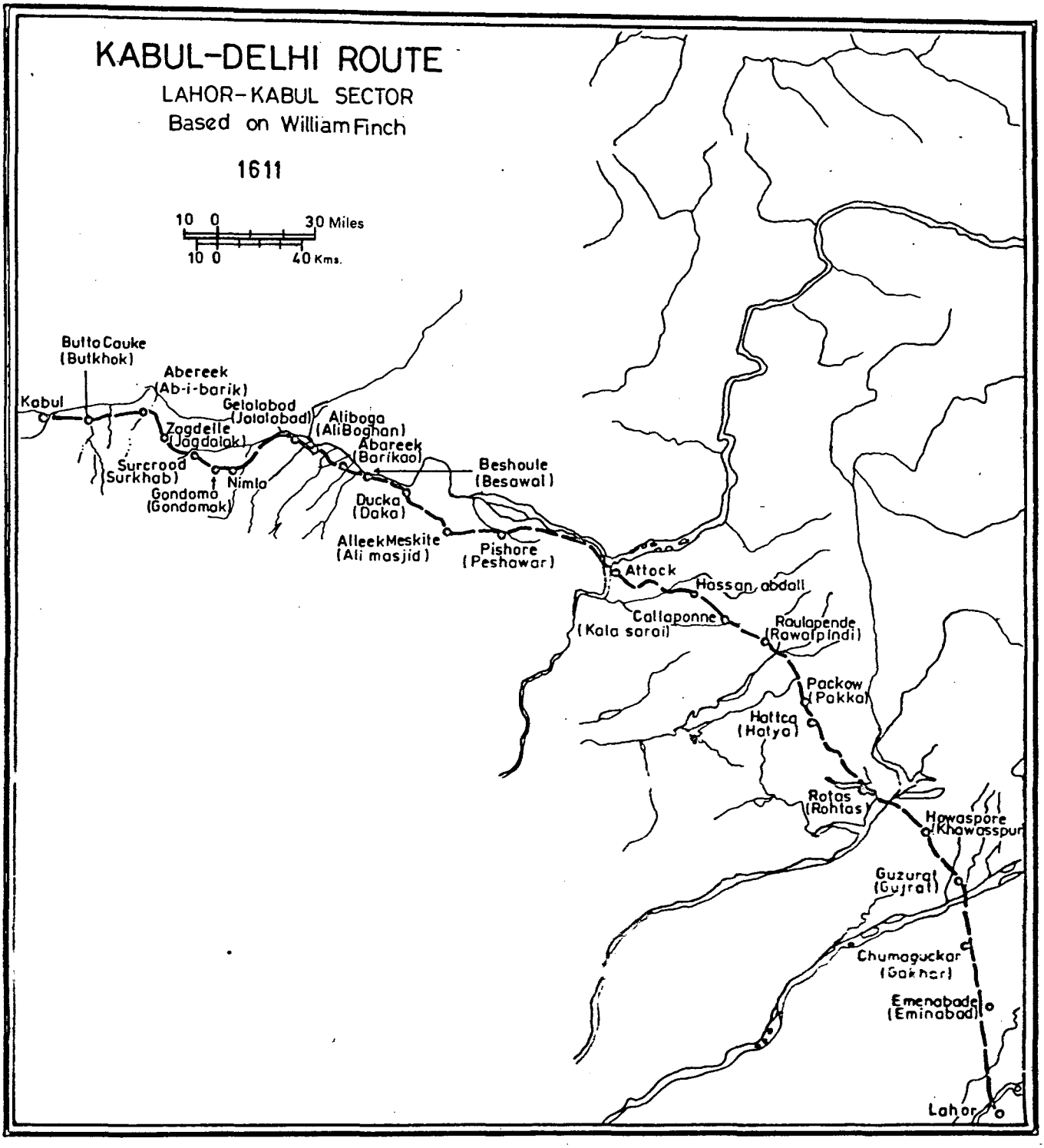
Though Finch did not travel beyond Lahor but he provides us with the stages on Lahor-Kabul route which are as follows:

"From Lahor to Cabull, passing the Ravee, at 10c. (see Map 4.20B) stands Googes Saray[559] (Kacha Serai), beyond which 8C. Emenbade (Aminabad) a faire city; thence to Chumaguckur[560] (Chima Gakkar) 12C., a great towne. To Guzuzat (Gujarat) 14C., a fair citie of great trade; at 7C. of this way you passe the river Chantrow (Chenab), near a corse over. To Howaspore (Khawaspur) 12C. To Loure Rotas (Rohtas) 15C., a citie with a strong castle on a mountaine, the frontier of the Potan Kingdom 15C. To Hattea (Hatya) 15C. To Puckow (Pakka) 4C. To Raulepende (Rawalpindi) 14C. To Collapanne (Kalapani) 15C. To Hassanabdall 4C., a pleasant towne with a small river and many faire tanks... To Attock 15C. a citie with a strong castle, by which Indus passeth in great beautie. To Pishore (Peshawar) 36C. To Alleck Meskite (Ali Masjid) 10C. the way dangerous for rebels, which are able to make ten or twelve thousand men. To Ducka (Daka) 12C. To Beshoule (Basawal) 6C. To Abareek (Bariku) 6C. To Aleboga (Ali Boghan) 9C., by which runneth cow (the Kabul river) a great river which comes from Cabul (way still theevish). To Gelalabade (Jalalabad) 4C. To Loure-Charebage 4C. Budde-Charbag[561] 6C. To Nimda (Nimla)

559 It is not possible to locate this place in maps, however, its location has been given approximately.

560 It is Jamia Ghakhar of Habib's Atlas (Sheet 4B).

561 Loure and Budde Charbag must be used for small and big Charbagh.


KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
LAHOR-KABUL SECTOR
Based on William Finch
1611
10 0 30 Miles
10 0 40 Kms.
Butta Cauke (Butkhok)
Abereek (Ab-i-barik)
Kabul
Gelolabod (Jalalabad)
Aliboga (Ali Boghan)
Zagdelle (Jagdalak)
Abareek (Barikaol)
Surcrood (Surkhab)
Nimla
Gondamo (Gondamak)
Beshoule (Besawal)
Ducka (Daka)
Alleek Meskite (Ali masjid)
Pishore (Peshawar)
Attock
Hassan abdall
Callaponne (Kala sarai)
Raulapende (Rawalpindi)
Packow (Pakka)
Hattca (Hatya)
Rotas (Rohtas)
Hawaspore (Khawasspur)
Guzurat (Gujrat)
Chumaguckar (Gakhar)
Emenabade (Eminabad)
Lahor

Map 4.208

8C. To Gondoma (Gandamak) 4C. To Surerood[562] (Surkhab) 4C., a saray with a small river which looks red and makes to have good stomack. To Zagdelee (Jagdalak) 8C. To Abereek[563] (Ab-i-barik) 8C. To Dowaba (Doaba) 8C. a great mountain in the way, 4C. ascent, to Butta Cauke (Buthhak) 8C. To Cam-ree[564] (Bikrami) 3C. To Cabul 3C. It is great and fair citie, the first seate of this kings great grand father, with two castle and may sarayas".[565]

It is significant to mote that the stages given by Finch between Gujarat and Kabul are more or less the same as given by Jahangir, who travelled four years earlier (1607). It seems that Finch was able to collect this information from some one who travelled with Jahangir. De Laet, who came to India during the end of Jahangir's reign also gives us stages of various routes, including Agra-Lahor and Lahor-Kabul routes. He must have depended on Finch's account. In this study, therefore, maps have not been reconstructed on the basis of De Laet's account.

562 The Surkh-rud is also correct as rud is stream.

563 The place was popularly known as Barikab, but Jahangir used persian style to call it Ab-i-Barik, which Finch also copied.

564 Foster must have seen the spelling of this place from Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri where it is Bikrami instead of Bigram.

565 Foster, pp. 167-168.

4.2.2 Kabul-Qandahar Route

The significance of Kabul and Qandahar, as the most stratigically located frontier towns of the Mughal Empire has already been discussed. Political and strategic significance apart, these towns were also of immense importance from the point of view of foreign trade on land. During the times of the Early Mughals, all the routes to India from Central Asia, Persia and countries of West Asia were converging on either of these towns. This obviously added extra significance to the Kabul-Qandahar Route. The flow of traffic must have increased immensely when they were under the effective control of friendly rulers. Though Qandahar became a part of India for a brief period (1595 to 1622) both Kabul and Qandahar were under the rule of the Mughals for most of the period under study.

The Kabul-Qandahar route passed through Ghazni, another city with a glorious past. The Kabul-Ghazni axis (section 2.2.1) has already been discussed while identifying the cultural regions of North-West India. In the present discussion it seems appropriate to extend this axis upto Qandahar. The Kabul-Ghazni-Qandahar axis, in fact emerted during the ancient period and provided stability to the already developed Herat-Qandahar axis, which in its turn, emerged as a part of the continental axis established by the empires of West Asia. But it seems that after a short while the Kabul-

Ghazni-Qandahar axis lost its significance. It was only after the emergence of Timurids on the scene, from the later part of 14th century, that large scale migration of Afghan tribes took place along the Kabul-Ghazni-Qandahar axis.

Babar came to this region at a very crucial time when Afghanistan was under the threat from the Persians, Uzbeks and Mughals. The political situation was very fluid and it remained so for about half a century. During this period there was a great set back to the foreign trade of India, through land routes. The significance of Kabul and Qandahar, as centres of trade and commerce dwindled considerably. However, despite the atmosphere of political instability and hostility, caravans frequented the Kabul-Qandahar route.

The Kabul-Qandahar road was one of the best possible routes for the travellers, passing through a mountainous or hilly region. This route according to Holdich was, "a straight highroad hardly to be matched for excellence by any of the best roads in Europe of equal length." The route between Kabul and Qandahar maintained its importance due to its geographical location. Between Kabul and Ghazni the route was mostly along the Loghar river (although the alternative western route was also not difficult). After which there was a slight ascend, which in fact is the watershed between Indus and Helmend-Arghandab river system. After Ghazni the route was along the Tarkak river. The altitude

of Qandahar is more than 1000 metre lower than Ghazni but the slope here is gentle throughout.

There are other alternative routes along the other tributaries of the Helmand-Arghandab river system between Kabul and Qandahar but the above mentioned route was most frequently used. Descriptions of Kabul-Qandahar route are not available as Babar used to travel very fast without halting at many places. There were also only few towns and villages along the route the distance between two places usually being more than 300 miles.

On the basis of the description available in the contemporary sources four maps have been prepared for this route. Out of these four routes only two were completely traversed:

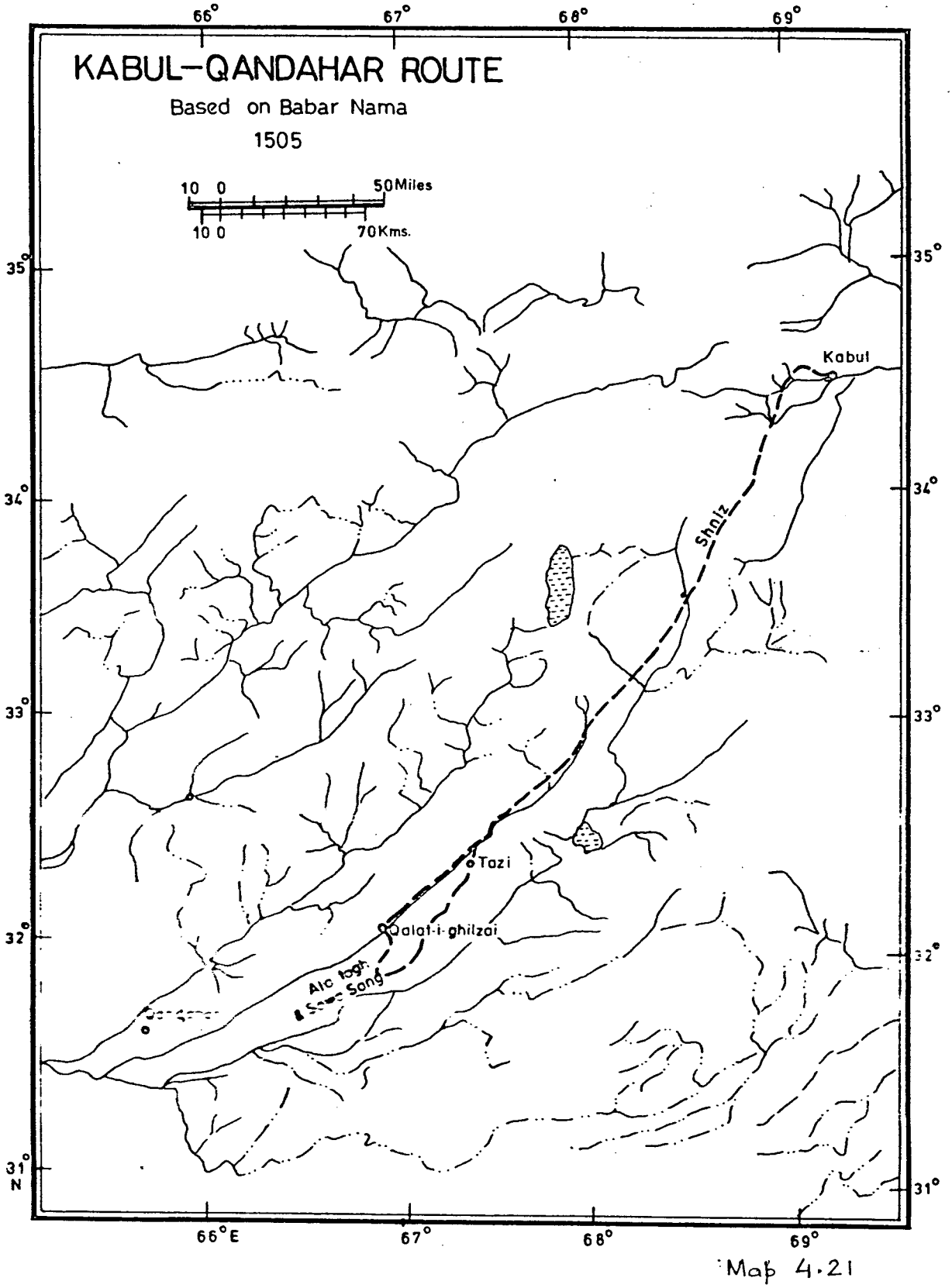
1. Babar's Expedition to Qalat-i-Ghilzai (1505).
2. Babar's Expedition against Ghilji Afghans (1507).
3. Babar's Expedition to Qandahar (1507).
4. Humayun's Expedition to Kabul (1545).

4.2.2.1 Babar's Expedition to Qalat-i-Ghilzai (1505)

After consolidating power in Kabul, Babar started for Qandahar in the middle of 1505[566] (see Map 4.21). From Kabul he reached Qush-nadir (variation nawar) but on dismounting there he got a strange fever.[567] When he got well there was

566 BN, p. 246.

567 Ibid., p. 247.


KABUL–QANDAHAR ROUTE
Based on Babar Nama
1505
10 0 50Miles
10 0 70Kms.
66°
67°
68°
69°
35°
34°
33°
32°
31°
N
66°E
Kabul
Shaiz
Tazi
Qalat-i-ghilzai
Arc tagh
Song

Map 4.21

a great earthquake.[568] The quake was so severe that it grounded many settlements, killed many people and made many roads impassable.[569] Due to which their plan to go to Qandahar was postponed.

The journey was again resumed after Babar's illness and after the repair of the fort. They were undecided at the time they dismounted below Shinz[570] whether to go to Qandahar or to overrun the hills and plains. After Council it was decided to move on Galat-i-Ghilzai.[571] At Tazi,[572] there was some confusion in the camp as some of the Begs deserted Babar. From Tazi after settling the matter they proceeded to Qalat and attacked at once and from all sides, without their mail and without seige appliances.[573] Fighting

568 Ibid. The earthquake was felt by the people in Agra on July 5th 1505 (Erskin's History of India, I, 229 note).

569 Ibid., p. 248.

570 Ibid. According to Raverty's Notes (Index S.n) it is on the Kabul Ghazni road. It is being plotted approximately on the map.

It seems that Babar and his nobles were in dire need of money and goods and that is why there was confusion over the area from which they can obtain that.

571 BN, p. 248. It was also known as Qalat-i-Tarnak as it is lying on the western bank of Tarnak river. Qalat-i-Ghilzai had a strong mud fort (Ain, II, p. 403). Its name Qalat-i-Ghilzai became popular as this Qalat is in the predominantly Ghilzai region.

572 BN, p. 248. Tazi is located on the north-east of Qalat-i-Ghilzai on the Tarnak river.

573 BN, p. 248. As mention above, Qalat had only a mud fort so, Babar attacked the fort without using techniques required to attack real forts.

continued till the afternoon prayers then those in the fort asked for peace and surrendered.

As the move on Qalat had been made under the insistance of Jahangir Mirza and Baqi Chaghaniani, Babar gave Qalat in the charge of Jahangir Mirza. Mirza did not accept it and Baqi also could give no good answer in the matter. "So after such a storming and assulting of Qalat, its capture was useless."[574] They returned to Kabul after over-running the Afghans of Sawa-sang and Ala-Tagh[575] on the south of Qalat.

4.2.2.2 Babar's Expedition against Ghilzi Afghans (1597)

Babar's expedition against Ghilzi Afghans[576] was not through the proper Kabul-Qandahar route. Babar followed a route lying east of Ghazni to reach Kattawaz. This route was unknown to all of them as it was located in the mountainous tribal region away from the main communication line. Babar's description highlights the fact that this region, slightly away from the Kabul-Qandahar route, was not really known to outsiders. This expedition of Babar has been included to show that alternative routes between Kabul and Qanda-

574 BN, p. 249. It seems that Jahangir Mirza was not interested in taking the charge of fort of Qalat as it was close to Qandahar which was still under the control of Shah Beg, the elder brother of Muqim who was holding the Qalat fort.

575 Ibid., p. 248. Approximate location of these places is shown in the map.

576 As mentioned earlier, the tribe is better known as Ghilzai.

ded to show that alternative routes between Kabul and Qandahar were not suitable for the movement of large numbers of people.

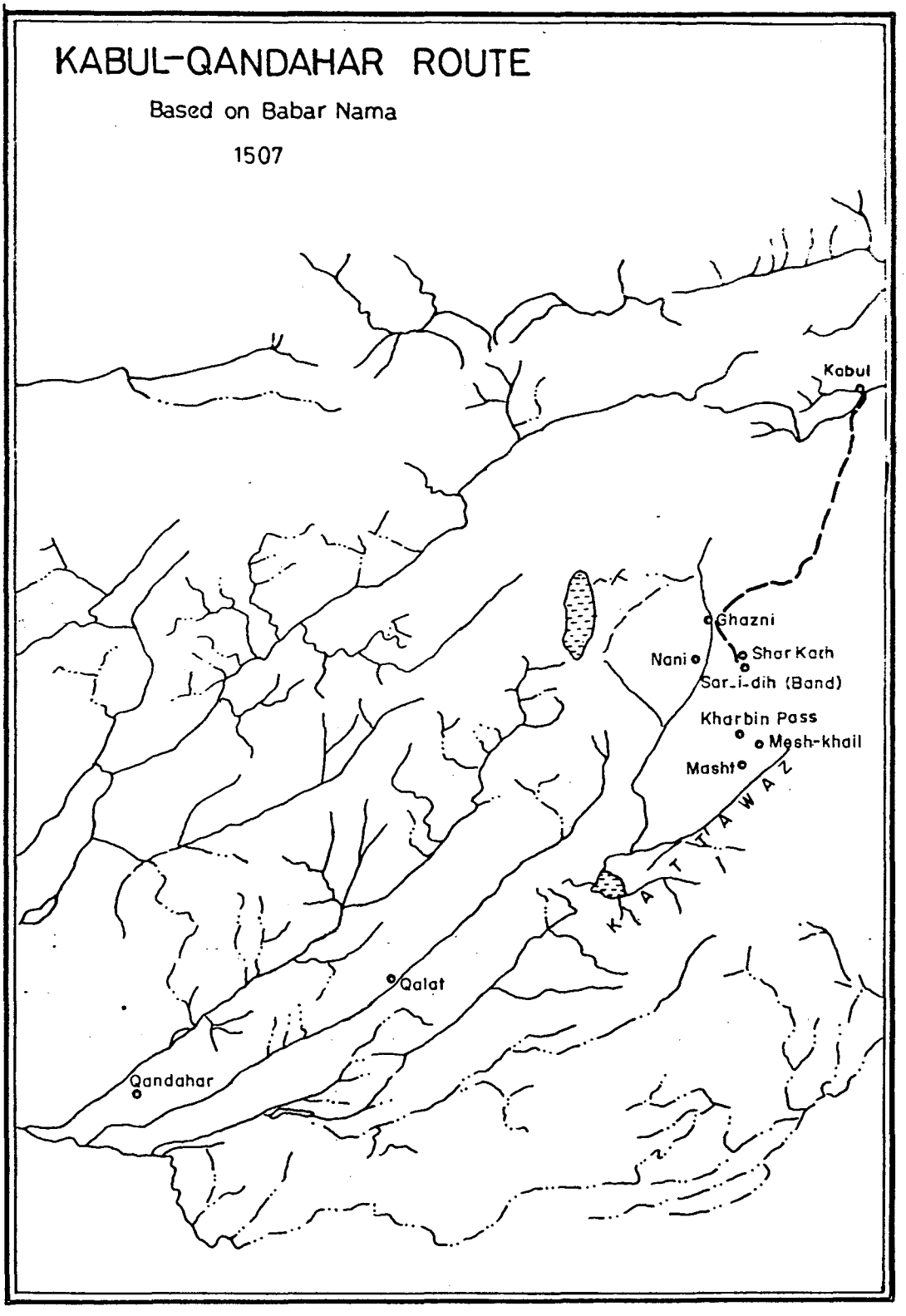
Babar started from Kabul to raid the Ghilzi Afghans (see Map 4.22) but when he dismounted at Sar-i-dih news was brought that a mass of Mahmands was lying in Masht and Sih-kana one yighach (circa 5 miles) away from them.[577] Some of the nobles suggested that "the Mahmands must be over-run."[578] Babar, however, rejected the idea of raiding his own peasants. Riding at night from Sar-i-dih they crossed the plain of Kattawaz[579] in the dark. Babar described vividly the journey in these words, "... a quiet black night, one level stretch of land, no mountain or rising-ground in sight, no known road or track not a man able to lead us! In the end I took the lead. I had been in these parts several times before; drawing inferences from those times... with some anxiety, moved on, God brought it right! We went straight to the

577 BN, p. 323. According to Beveridge, Sih-kana lies south-east of the Shorkach, and near Kharbin. Sar-i-dih is about 25 to 30 miles sough of Ghazni. A name suiting the pastral wealth of the tribe viz. Mesh-Khail, Sheep-tribe is shown on maps somewhat south from Kharbin. (BN, p. 323, f.n. 3).

Of these above mentioned places, Sih-kana cannot be located. Sar-i-dih (village head) had a working dam (band) and perhaps is shown on the maps as Band. (BN, p. 219). Babar visited this place earlier also (BN, p. 240).

578 BN, p. 323.

579 Ibid. Kattawaz plain lies south-east of Ghazni and east of Ab-i-Istada.


KABUL-QANDAHAR ROUTE
Based on Babar Nama
1507
Kabul
Ghazni
Nani
Shar Kath
Sar-i-dih (Band)
Kharbin Pass
Mesh-khail
Masht
KATAWAZ
Qalat
Qandahar

Map 4.22

Qiaq-tu and the Aulaba-tu torrent,[580] that is to say straight for Khwaja Ismail Siriti,[581] where Ghilzis were lying."[582] They dismounted near the Aulaba-tu torrent and next morning got out of those low hills and valley-bottoms to the plain on which the Ghilzi lay. Ghilzi Afghans were ruthlessly killed and a pillar of their heads was set up.[583]

Marching from Khwaja Islail, they dismounted once more at Aulaba-tu. Babar ordered the begs to separate one-fifth of the enemy's spoils as his share which came out at 16,000;[584] Next day a hunting circle was formed on the plain of Kattawaz and deer and wild asses were killed. Turning back from that raid, they went to Kabul and there dismounted.[585]

4.2.2.3 Babar's Expedition to Qandahar (1507)

Shaibani Khan captured Herat in 1507, and without much difficulty became the master of the whole of Khurasan. It

580 In the absence of detailed map of the region, it is not possible to identify the torrent. There is, however, no significant river in this region.

581 Perhaps, this refers to the mountain of Khwaja Ismail which Babar describes as "low, scant of vegetation short of water, treeless, ugly and good for nothing." (BN, p. 223). But it is not possible to identify it, due to change in the names.

582 BN, p. 323.

583 Ibid., p. 324.

584 Ibid., p. 325.

585 Ibid.

was feared that Shaibani would next concentrate his attention on Kabul and Qandahar and his first move would be directed against Qandahar. At the request of the Arghuns of Qandahar (Shah Beg and his younger brother Mirza Muqim) Babar hurried up to take charge of Qandahar before the impending attack of Shaibani.[586]

On their way to Qandahar, when they reached Ghazni, Babar's aunt with her daughter came from Herat[587] (see Map 4.23). In Qalat-i-Ghilzai "the army came upon a mass of Hindustan traders, come there to traffic and, as it seemed, unable to go on."[588] Babar mentions that "the general opinion about them was that people who, at a time of such hostilities, are coming upto an enemy's country must be plundered."[589] With this, however, Babar did not agree and said, "what is trader's offence?"[590] Something by way of peshkash (offering) was taken from each trader when they dismounted on the other side of Qalat.[591]

586 Ibid., p. 330.

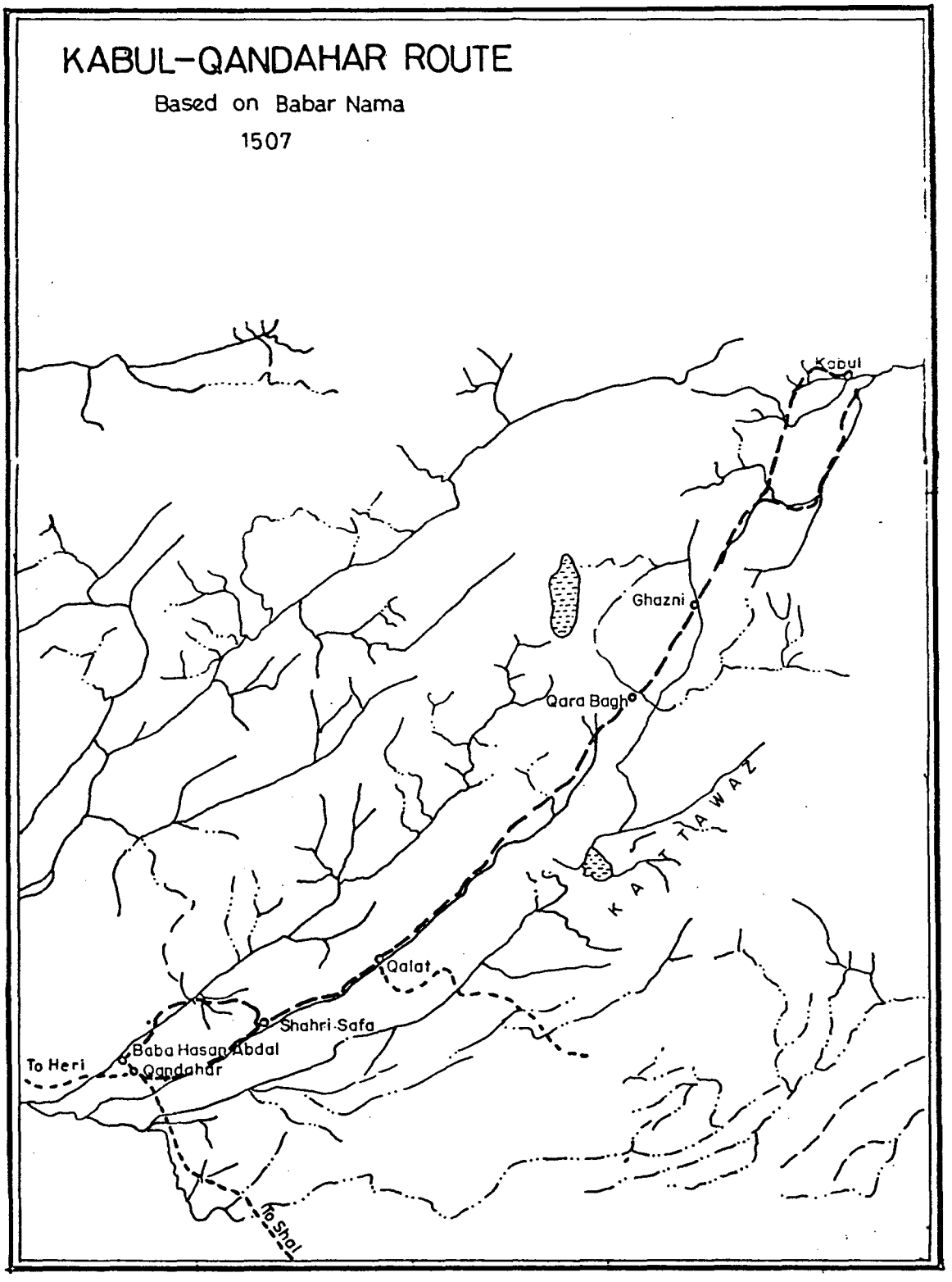
587 Ibid.

588 Ibid., p. 331. This reference to the presence of traders of India in Qalat shows the intensity of commercial links between India and these part. In fact, it shows the mutual commercial dependence of these regions.

589 Ibid. According to Beveridge, "there may have been an accumulation of caravan on their way to Herat, checked in Qalat by the news of the Auzbeg conquest (BN, p. 331, f.n. 2).

590 BN, p. 331.

591 Ibid.


KABUL-QANDAHAR ROUTE
Based on Babar Nama
1507
Kabul
Ghazni
Qara Bagh
KATTAWAZ
Qalat
Shahri-Safa
Baba Hasan Abdal
Qandahar
To Heri
To Shal

Map 4.23

Babar wrote letters to Shah Beg and Muqim for the settlement of Qandahar and other matters among themselves. But "they returned a rude and ill mannered answer, going back from their dutiful letters they had written".[592] Babar, however, decided to move on towards Qandahar and reached near Shahr-i-Safa,[593] where Babar's army panicked due to a false alarm, perhaps, of an attack. March by march they moved on to Guzar.[594] There Babar tried again to discuss the matter with the Arghuns, but they payed no attention to him and maintained the same obstinate attitude.[595]

Babar was informed that the head of the torrent (rud-lar) which come down to Qandahar, being towards Baba Hasan Abdal and Khalishak,[596] a move might to be made in that direction, in order to cut off all these torrents. From Baba Hasan Abdal, they marched to Qandahar and in a well planned battle conquered it. They got all the wealth which

592 Ibid., p. 332.

593 Ibid. Shahr-i-Safa lies some 40 miles south-west of Qalat and north-east of Qandahar on the main road.

594 Ibid. According to Beveridge "If the word mean ford, this might well be the one across the Tarnak carrying the road to Qara (maps). Here Babar seems to have left the main road... for one crossing west into the valley of the Argand-ab". (BN, p. 332, f.n. 3).
It is possible that Babar, who was still negotiating with the Arghuns, preferred not to reach directly to Qandahar, had taken the western alternative route.

595 BN, p. 332.

596 Ibid. Baba Hasan Abdal is shown in the maps as Baba

Arghuns accumulated in Qandahar. About the wealth Babar mentions that "such masses of white money had never been seen in those countries; no-one indeed was to be heard of who had seen so much".[597] Babar gave the Qandahar country to Nasir Mirza and returned for Kabul after staying in Qush-Khana meadow and Qara-begh.[598] They reached Kabul with masses of goods and treasure, great honour and reputation.[599]

4.2.2.4 Humayun's Expedition to Kabul (1545)

Humayun after settling the affairs of Qandahar, marched to subdue Kabul which was under the possession of Kamran. At this time a large caravan came from Hindustan and the merchants had made good bargains by purchasing Iraq horses from the Turkomans (the Persian auxiliaries of Humayun). According to Abul Fazl, the leaders of the caravan came and represented that their horses be taken into the service of the grand army and order be given for payment after the conquest of Hindustan. Humayun gladly accepted this proposal

Cont'd.. f.n. 596

Wali. The same saint has given his name here, and also to his shrine east of Attock, where he is known as Baba Wali of Qandahar. It is not possible to locate Khalishak.

597 Ibid., p. 338.

598 Ibid. It is not possible to locate Qush-Khana meadow. Qara Bagh lies some 40 miles south of Ghazni, along the main road.

599 Ibid., p. 339.

and gave purchase bounds to the owners.[600] But the more probable account is given by Jauhar who says that the horses were forcefully taken by Humayun but they were given the purchase-bounds.[601] The horses in question were more than one thousand in number.[602] Humayun came himself to the ridge near Baba Hasan Abdal (see Map 4.24) and ordered to make arrangements for the march. From there Dawa Beg Hazara led them to the fort of Tiri[603] during the night. Tiri or Tirin was a Hazara strong hold and when the army arrived there, the headmen brought, according to their ability, horses and sheep as presents. Humayun stayed there for several days.[604]

From Tirin, Humayun proceeded towards Kabul by a unusual route perhaps to avoid any confrontation with the supporters of Kamran, who were still holding the fort of Ghazni. Though the details of the route taken by Humayun are not given in any of the contemporary sources, it is clear that they followed a western route through mountainous Hazarajat region.[605] Through this route they reached Yurt of

600 AN, I, p. 476.

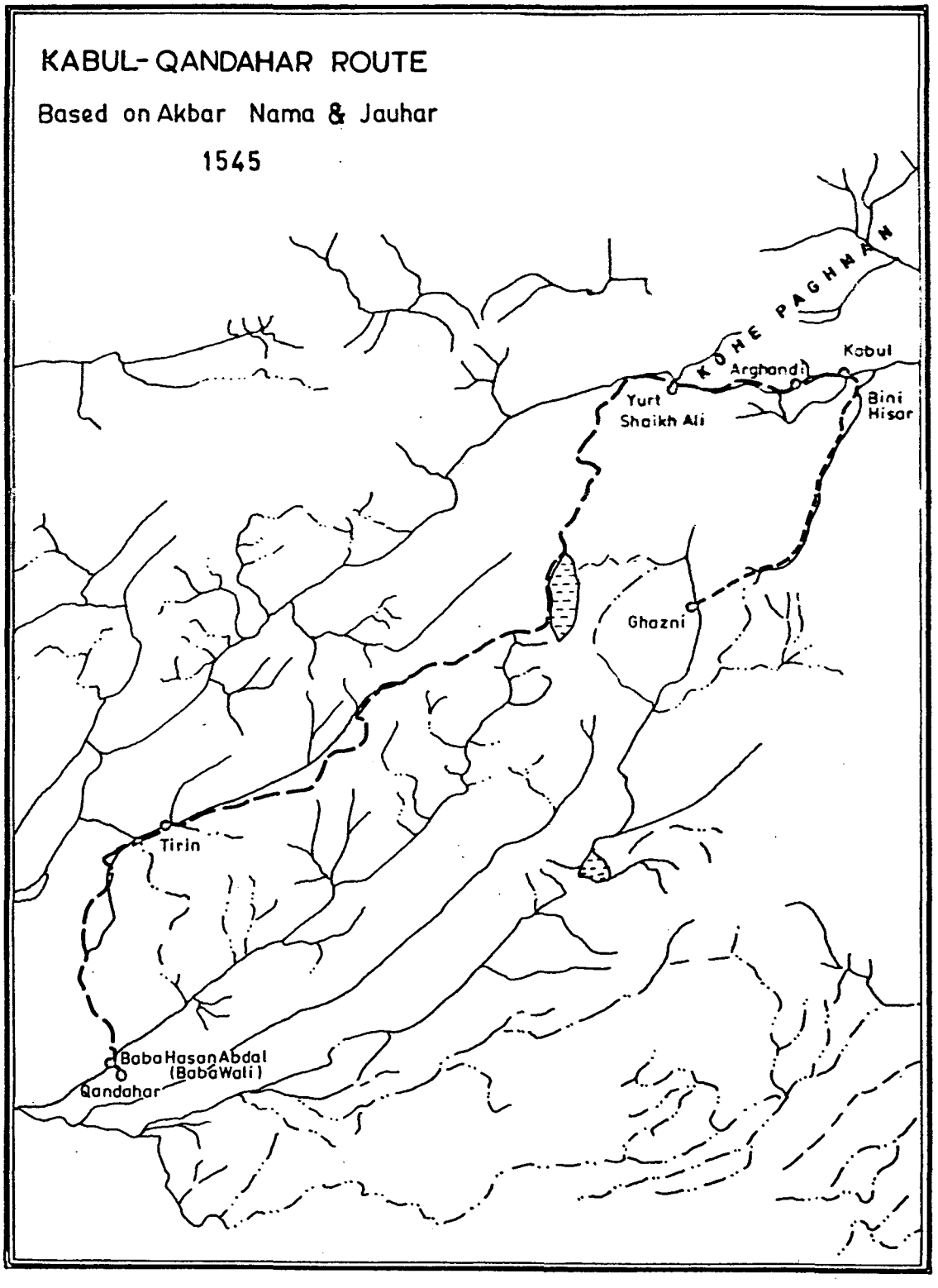
601 Jauhar, p. 117.

602 Jauhar gives the number of horses as 1700.

603 Tiri is referred to as Tirin in Lahori IAC sheets and in the 1968 official map.

604 AN, I, p. 476.

605 Abul Fazl mention that "the confidential officers represented that the winter was at hand, and that it was


KABUL- QANDAHAR ROUTE
Based on Akbar Nama & Jauhar
1545
KOHE PAGHMAN
Kabul
Arghandi
Yurt
Shaikh Ali
Bini
Hisar
Ghazni
Tirin
Baba Hasan Abdal
(Baba Wali)
Qandahar

Map 4.24

Shaikh Ali,[606] which was in the neighbourhood of Paghman[607] and Arqandi.[608] Kamran after strengthening the fort came out from Kabul and encamped near Yurt of the Babus Beg. Humayun's army had passed the defile of the "Khwaja's ridge"[609] and had halted in the neighbourhood of Arqandi. When Kamran realized that he can not face the army of Humayun, he went off to Ghazni via Bini Hisar. Humayun took Kabul on 10th November 1545 without a battle.[610]

4.3 THE ROUTES OF SECOND ORDER

It has already been observed that the routes of the First Order, during the period under study, were passing through regions which have been identified earlier as the areas of attraction. Apart from these areas a few other areas in North-West India had fertile lands with suitable climatic conditions for agricultural production and a fairly developed industrial. These regions, however, have been

Cont'd.. f.n. 605

impossible for them to convey the women and children and the baggage along with them into the hill-country". AN, I, p. 472.

606 Yurt is shown on the old map, west of Unai pass. Although the name of Yurt is not given but it suits the location.

607 AN, I, p. 478. Paghman region lies west of Kabul city.

608 Ibid. It known as Arghand; now and is located West of Kabul.

609 Ibid. It is possibly Safed Khak pass, few miles south of Arghandi.

610 Ibid., p. 480.

identified as the areas of relative isolation due to their distance from the main communication lines. We have seen that the Agra-Delhi-Lahor-Kabul-Qandahar route had been firmly established as the main communication line during the time of Akbar. The valley of Kashmir and Thatta or Sind region are perhaps the best examples of this category of areas of relative isolation.

The beautiful valley of Kashmir, quite extensive and productive was annexed to the Mughal Empire by Akbar, who temporarily made it a sarkar of the suba of Kabul. It was made a suba during the times of Jahangir. Even when Kashmir was a part of the suba of Kabul it enjoyed a special status, mainly due to its scenic beauty and a quite different cultural history. It shows that Kashmir, although surrounded by high mountain walls, was in the process of becoming a significantly important part of the Mughal empire by the turn of sixteenth century.

Like Kashmir, the Sind or Thatta region was also annexed to the Mughal Empire during the times of Akbar. Sind was not as fertile as Kashmir but it was connected with Lahor and Multan with a fairly developed road network and through the broad and navigable Indus. After its conquest, Thatta too was grouped with the suba of Multan for administrative purposes. In fact, it was given a special status and was made a separate suba later on.

Both these regions were quite closely linked with

Lahor. The route between Lahor and Kashmir via Pir Panjal Pass was developed by Akbar and Jahangir to the extent that it was known as the Imperial Highway. The low lying Pakli or Jhelum gorge route was also developed to connect Kabul with Kashmir and for travel during the winter season. Both of these routes may be identified as the routes of second order.

The route between Punjab and Sind region was perhaps developed prior to the establishment of the Indus valley civilization. The travel between these two regions was never a problem, it was only a question of time. More over, for cheaper travel and transport there was, the mighty Indus. The route between Sind and Lahor, thus may be identified as the route of the Second Order.

The route between Qandahar and Multan which after the development of Delhi-Lahor-Kabul route lost most of its significance, may also be identified as the route of Second Order. The reasons of loss of significance of Qandahar-Multan route has already been referred to at various places in this study. Here it can be noted that after the consolidation of Kabul, the Mughals were able to control the traffic on the Lahor-Kabul sector and so the journey on this route became far more easier and safer that it was on the Multan-Qandahar route. Even at the height of its utility, it seems that Multan-Qandahar route never attained the status of the route of First Order as it was passing through an area of

isolation with a very rugged terrain.

Though there are various references to this route in the contemporary source but no detailed travel account is available which can be mapped and hence described. However, with the help of various references to this route, it is possible to show this route with important stages in between. (see Map 4.1) Moreover, while describing the passes through the Sulaiman Range (3.2.1.3) the possible routes between these two places have already been discussed quite thoroughly.

4.3.1 Kashmir-Lahor Route via Pir Panjal Pass

There were two developed roads, linking Kashmir with the Plain of Punjab - Bhaimbar and Pakli. However, of these two routes Bhinbar or Pir Panjal route was more direct. Though this route was under frequent use since ancient times but during the times of Akbar and Jahangir it achieved a rare glory. Jahangir used the Pir Panjal route quite frequently on his trips to Kashmir as he and his queen Noor Jahan were very fond of this 'paradise among the hills'.

There are various references to prove that Pir Panjal route was under constant use for different functions from ancient times. Though most of these references are insufficient for the reconstruction of the route maps but this inadequate is made up by the descriptions given in great

detail by Abul Fazl and Jahangir. Abul Fazl, accompanied Akbar, on his visit to Kashmir through Pir Panjal in 1589. The description of the route in Akbar Nama provides plenty of geographical information about it. Even distances of every march are given, though not always with absolute accuracy. The description of the route is also given, in detail, in Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri which provides an idea about how in thirty years between (1589-1620)or so this route became an imperial highway with lot of facilities (at least to the King and Begums). The description of the route by Jahangir also highlights the fact that there was a limit to its improvement. With all the possible efforts of the King, he could not go by this route due to heavy snow-fall which came a few days before his planned journey to Kashmir.

As mentioned earlier, due to the rugged terrain of the area, it was one of the most difficult routes mentioned both in Akbar Nama and Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. Though during the period under study it was the easiest route leading to Kashmir, it had its own dangers and difficulties. Both Abul Fazl and Jahangir describe its difficulties quite frequently.

In order to understand the significance of the route, it is better to know the purpose for which this route was being used during that period. With the help of various references it can be safely assumed that this pass route was being used for the following purposes:

a) Military Expeditions: Akbar developed this road spe-

cifically for use during military expeditions. Although, there were other uses of this route yet Kashmir's detachment from India and the impregnability of the mountain rampart necessitated the construction and maintenance of a route which could be used in any eventuality.

b) Trade: The Pir Panjal psss-route played a fairly important role in boosting up Kashmir's trade with other regions of the Mughal Empire. Known as the salt route till very recently as salt was brought into the valley through this line of communication, it was frequently used for transiting other goods as well into and from the valley by the traders who had their bases in Lahor, the entrepot of North-Western India, during the period of Early Mughals.

c) Pilgrimage and Excursion: The Kashmir Valley with its numerous shrines attracted pilgrims from all over India. There is evidence to show that the pilgrim traffic passed through this route during the medieval period. For excursions to Kashmir the Mughals preferred it for its obvious pinch of adventure and for the scenic beauty. On the authority of Sufi one comes to know that Jahangir paid eight visits to Kashmir, mostly by this route, in the company of his father, or, during his own regime.

d) Transhumance: The nomadic herdsmen, such as the Gujjars, who move about in the mountainous regions on the periphery of the valley have frequently used this route in

the past as they still do at present. A heavy traffic of these transhumant tribes is handled by the Pir Panjal pass route in their trans-Himalayan trekking every year.

4.3.1.1 Akbar's Expedition to Kashmir via the Pir Panjal Route (1589)

Akbar had nurtured a desire to visit the beautiful valley of Kashmir. After settling the major problems of the empire, he thought it an appropriate time to visit the valley, though his advisors tried to pursuade him not to go to such a distance and put himself in a remote region.[611] Akbar sent three thousand stone cutters, mountain-miners, and spitters of rocks, and 2000 beldars (diggers) under Qasim Khan to make the mountainous road to Kashmir practicable.[612]

Akbar started from Lahor on 28th April 1589, marched one Kos and 12 bambus[613] (poles) and after crossing the Ravi (see Map 4.25) encamped near the serai of Madhu Singh.[614] After travelling 2 Kos 50 poles he encamped near Shahdara[615]

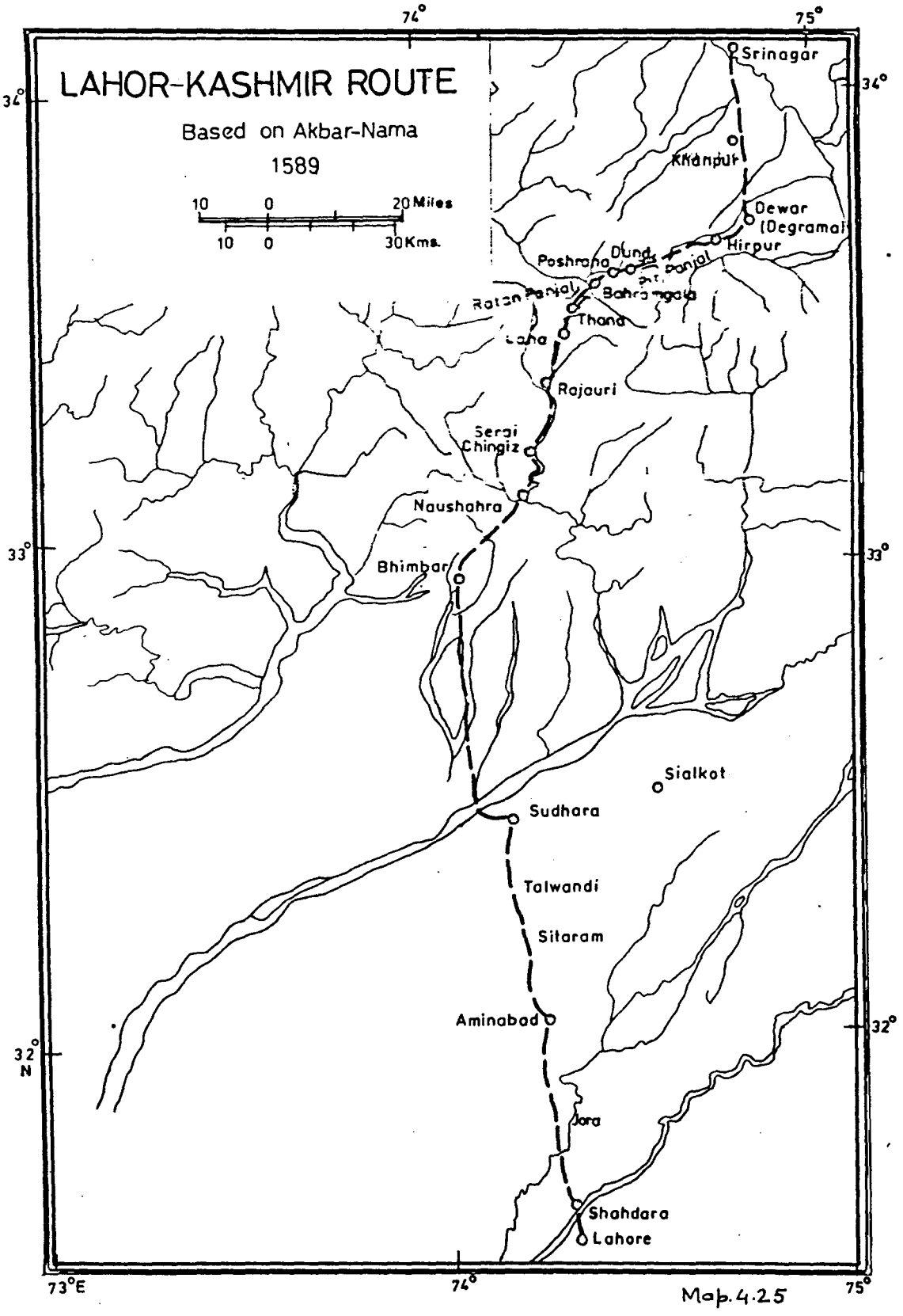
611 AN, III, p. 817.

612 Ibid.

613 Four hundred bambus or poles made a kos, each bambu being 12½ gaz. As one gaz of Akbar was of 33 inches, length of a kos comes about two and half miles (2 miles 4 furlongs 183 yards and 1 foot).

614 AN, III, p. 887. It is not possible to locate this serai which must have parished in due course of time.

615 Six miles from old city of Lahore, on the west bank of Ravi. It contains Jahangir and Nur Jahan's tombs. (Beveridge, H., AN, III, p. 818, f.n. 1).


LAHOR-KASHMIR ROUTE
Based on Akbar-Nama
1589
10 0 20 Miles
10 0 30 Kms.
74°
75°
34°
33°
32°
32° N
73°E
Srinagar
Khanpur
Dewar (Degramal)
Hirpur
Poshrana
Dund
Panjal
Bahramgala
Ratan Panjal
Thana
Rajauri
Serai Chingiz
Naushahra
Bhimbar
Sialkot
Sudhara
Talwandi
Sitaram
Aminabad
Jora
Shahdara
Lahore

Map. 4.25

and by travelling 4 Kos 41 poles reached the village of Jora.[616] From this village he marched 3¼ Kos 72 poles and alighted near Aminab.[617] After an interval of one day he marched 4¼ Kos and encamped in the territory of Sitaram.[618] At dawn he marched 4¾ Kos 35 poles and halted at Talwandi.[619] Then after one day he passed Sudhira[620] and encamped in the bank of the Chinab. It was a march of 6 Kos 41 poles. The river was crossed by a bridge, the march being 1¼ Kos 51 poles. Then he reached Gunacor,[621] a dependency of Sialkot after travelling for 4 Kos 5 bambus. Next day Akbar marched 4½ Kos 41 bambus and encamped at Dikri,[622] a dependency of Sialkot. After two days he marched, 4½ Kos 60 bambus and halted at Jaipur Kheri[623] a village of Bhimbar. On 19th May

616 AN, III, p. 818. Beveridge, identified it with Juahir-pul of Indian Atlas, which seems to correspond to Shah Daulapul on the Dig river, 22 miles north of Lahor (f.n. 2).

617 AN, III, p. 818.

618 Ibid. It is Saharam in I.O. MS. It is not possible to find this place in the maps. Its location on the basis of its distance from Aminabad is being shown in our maps.

619 AN, III, p. 818. The approximate location of Talwandi is also being shown in our map.

620 AN, III, p. 818. It is Sadhra of modern maps.

621 Ibid. It lies south-east of Jalindhar and is the place where Bairam Khan was defeated (Beveridge f.n. 8).

622 AN, III, p. 819.

623 Ibid. It is Jypore of the maps.

1589 he went with few attendants to see the pass of Bhimbar which Kashmiris call Kajiwar and other hill men Adi-Dat.[624]

Akbar resumed his journey and traversed the defile between the Serai Jogi[625] and Naushahra,[626] which was known as Ghati Badu.[627] He travelled 13½ Kos. Next morning the ravine of Ghazikot,[628] between Naushahra and Serai Cingiz,[629] was traversed with difficulty. After passing Rajouri,[630] Akbar halted at the tents of Qasim Khan who was proceeding with the work of making the road clear and level.[631] The march was 8 Kos 9 poles.

From Rajauri there are several roads leading into the

624 Ibid. It is Adidak of Bate's Gazetteer which is 6 miles of north of Bhimbar. The altitude of Adidak is 2800' while Bhimbar is only 1060' above sea level.

625 AN, III, p. 821. Serai Jogi could not be identified.

626 Ibid. It is on the right bank of Tohi river at an altitude of 1800' above sea level.

627 Ibid. Most probably, the word Badu has been used for Zainu-l-abadin, the glorious king of Kashmir. In Kashmir he is still known as Bar Shah or Bad Shah, which means 'The Great King'. It is near modern Saidabad.

628 Ibid. The ravine of Ghazikot is identified near the top of the small hill between Naushara and Serai Cingiz.

629 Ibid. It is better known as Chingas Serai. In that old serai there is a mosque and the grave entombing Jahangir's entrails.

630 Ibid. Rajauri, like Naushahra and Chingas serai is on the right bank of river Tohi and has an altitude of 3094 feet.

631 Ibid. As Akbar reached Rajauri in the last week of May, so snow in the process of melting made the roads unusualble without repair.

valley of Kashmir. Abul Fazl, mentions it in the following words: "As several roads led from this place and each was full of snow, experienced men were sent off to make enquiries and a council was held. It appeared that the best route for a large army was by the defile of the Hasti water.[632] As it was a difficult passage on account of the large amount of snow and rain, His Majesty chose the Pir Panjal route".[633]

The next camp was fixed near Laha,[634] a dependency of Rajauri. The distance between Rajauri and Laha was measured as 3¼ Kos 13 poles. Next day they marched 1¾ Kos and reposed near Thana.[635] The village is at the foot of the defile of Ratan Panjal. According to Abul Fazl, from Thana the Kashmir language begins. He mentions that according to Akbar, "countres are divided from one another by hills, rivers, deserts, and language. For the first (three)of these Bhimbar is the boundary of Kashmir, and for the last, this station is."[636]

632 Ibid. Vatar in Arabic means a narrow path in a mountainous terrain and has been used as a translation of vanj which is Pahari word for "to go".

633 AN, III, p. 821.

634 Ibid., p. 822. Village of Laha (Lah) is situated on the left bank of Tohi river and it is 5 miles from Thana.

635 Ibid. Thana is now known as Thana Mandi. At Thana is a fine example of the Mughal serai. The rooms are larger and higher than that of Chingas and other serais of that time.

636 Ibid. This statement of Akbar provides us with an

Next day Akbar crossed the Patan Panjal pass.[637] The camp was pitched at Bahramgalla,[638] the distance covered was 2¾ Kos 5 poles. Abul Fazl found Bahramgalla a delightful place... (with) few equals for climate and variety of flowers.[639] Many of them climbed the pass on foot, most probably due to steep slopes and a difficult climb. Next day they marched 2 Kos 55 poles and encamped at Pushiana.[640] Abul Fazl describes the details of the route and its beauty at length.[641]

Abul Fazl writes that after Pushiana the route was filled with snow for more than two kos.[642] He further described, "... His Majesty's fellow travellers were much frightend, but the encouragements of His Majesty soothed them somewhat. As it is the custom for pedestrains, where

637 Ratan Panjal pass is localid at a distance of 5 miles from Thana and Bahramgalla. The altitude of the pass is 8,200' above sea level. The climb is quite difficult.

638 The village is situated in a deep gorge at the foot of the pass near the confluence of Chitta Pani (Suran or Punch river) with the Purni stream.

639 AN, III, p. 822.

640 Ibid. It is modern Poshiana, on the west side of this Pir Panjal pass. There are ruins of the old serai, a little above the left bank of the road. The altitude of the village is about 8,350' above sea level.

641 AN, III, p. 822.

842 Ibid., p. 823. The route was filled with the snow for only 1½ to 2 miles when I travelled on the route in June 1973. It seems that during 1589, it snowed more than usual, or the snow line during that period was lower than today - a case of climatic change.

going over the snow to use shoes woven out of ropes or rice-straw,[643] most provided themselves therewith, but this was a thing which His Majesty did not approve."[644]

Next day they crossed Pir Panjal Pass[645] and encamped at Dund[646] which was near the pass of Nati Barari,[647] The march from Poshiana to Dund was 3½ kos 20 poles. There was snow in the way. Abul Fazl describes the difficulties of the pass route in these words, "Shall I describe the severity of the cold? Or shall I tell of the depth of the snow, and of the bewilderment of the nature of India? Or shall I describe the heights and hollows of this stage? Or shall I

643 Gujjars, the nomadic herdsmen, who move about in the mountainous regions on the periphery of the valley use these shoes of ropes of rice straw and of Jutta (made from ropes).

644 AN, III, p. 823.

645 Ibid. There is much controversy about the origin of the Pir Panjal word. In fact Pir Panjal are two separate words. Pir in Persian means an old man or a saint of 'Faqir'. There is a grave on the top of the pass of a saint. Panjal is identified by Stein as of Pancala, for the modern word he used Pantsal instead of Panjal. It could have been applied either to the whole of the great southern chain of mountain or its central portion about the Pir Panjal Pass. The pass is at the altitude of 11,400 feet above sea level.

646 Ibid. Dund is not marked in the maps. It must be before Aliabad serai as the given distance indicates. After Pir Panjal pass, the slope is gentle on the Kashmir side and conditions are good for encompment upto a place half miles south-west of Aliabad serai where gorge of a small tributary of Rembiara presents a serious hinderance. So Dund must be near the pass itself much before the gorge.

647 Ibid. There is much variation in different MSS, Nati

write of the fountains, the trees, the flowers?"[648]

It is obvious that for the people of the plains of India, who had never visited the mountainous areas, Pir Panjal range was extremely difficult to cross and to make the journey still more difficult it snowed and hailed while they were crossing the pass. Next day they traversed Nati Barari which according to Abul Fazl was the most difficult of all the ranges and encamped at Hirpur. The distance between Dhund and Hirpur[649] is given as 4¼ kos. According to Abul Fazl, they crossed forty-four bridges[650] in all up-to Hirpur. Summing up the difficulties of the journey Abul Fazl writes that "the hills between this (Hirpur) place and Bhimbar had now been overcome and were forgotten. To speak briefly, from Bhimbar to Hirpur there is a continuous range of hills which for narrows and difficulty and for ascent and

Cont'd.. f.n. 647

Barari, Nari Barari and Tari Barari. In TJ, it is Bari Brari. Perhaps the gorge of the tributary of Rembiara river generally known as Pir Panjal river with steep wall like sides, half a mile south-west of Aliabad serai might have been known as Nati Barari during that period.

648 AN, III, p. 823.

649 Ibid., p. 824. Hirpur is a small and scattered village lying about 7 miles south-west of Shupian. There is old Mughal serai and level ground available for encamping.

650 Ibid. It is difficult to tell the exact number of bridges on this sector of the route. There were 17 bridges only between Bahramgalla and Poshiana on Suran river and the river forded 7 times. Drew and Bates

descents is unrivalled."[651]

From Hirpur, which is in the Kashmir valley the route is plain and easy upto Srinagar. Akbar after travelling for 3½ kos 81 bambus halted at the village of Kasu.[652] Next day 3¾ kos 13 poles were traversed and they halted at Khanpur.[653] On 5th June, 1589, Akbar marched for 1½ kos 18 poles and reached the city of Srinagar. According to Abul Fazl, "From Lahor, the capital, to this place (Srinagar) 97 kos 7 poles were traversed in 24 marches."[654]

4.3.1.2 Jahangir's March from Kashmir via the Pir Panjal Route (1620)

Jahangir started his return journey from Srinagar on 27th of Mihr. It was Monday night. Before leaving Srinagar, Jahangir had directed his officers that "from Srinagar to the end of the hilly country buildings should be erected at each

Cont'd.. f.n. 650

give the number of bridges as 30 between Bahramgalla and Poshiana. It is possible that many new bridges were made on this route for the Imperial visit, which are no more there.

651 AN, III, p. 824.

652 Ibid., p. 825. It is not possible to identify this village.

653 Ibid. There is a Khanpur Serai marked in the map south-south-west of Srinagar, but it is further off than 1½ kos. It is about 12 miles from Srinagar.

654 Ibid., p. 827. Abul Fazl gives the name of only 23 place instead of 24 mentioned. The total distance is also 89½ kos. He must have omitted some place, perhaps

stage for the accommodation"[655] needed for him and the royal ladies. He marched from the neighbourhood of the city of Srinagar and encamped at the village of Pampur,[656] which was famous for its saffron fields (see Map 4.26). From Pampur they moved on Friday and the camp was pitched at Kanpur.[657] Although the buildings at this stage had been completed but these were still damp and there was a smell of lime so they stayed in tents. Next day they halted at Kalampur[658] and on Sunday, the 3rd of Aban, Jahangir reached Hirpur,[659] and passed the night at this stage.

The Kotal of Bari Barari[660] was crossed, on the next day and Pir Panjal pass was considered as the proper place for encampment.[661] Jahangir describes the difficulties of the pass in these words "of the roughness of the pass and the difficulties of the road what shall I write? It is diffi-

Cont'd.. f.n. 654

between Hirapur and Srinagar to mention. However, this distance of 97 kos and 7 poles comes out to be 252 miles.

655 TJ, II, p. 178.

656 Ibid., p. 177. The town of Pampur is situated on the right bank of the Jhelum, about 8 miles south-east of Srinagar.

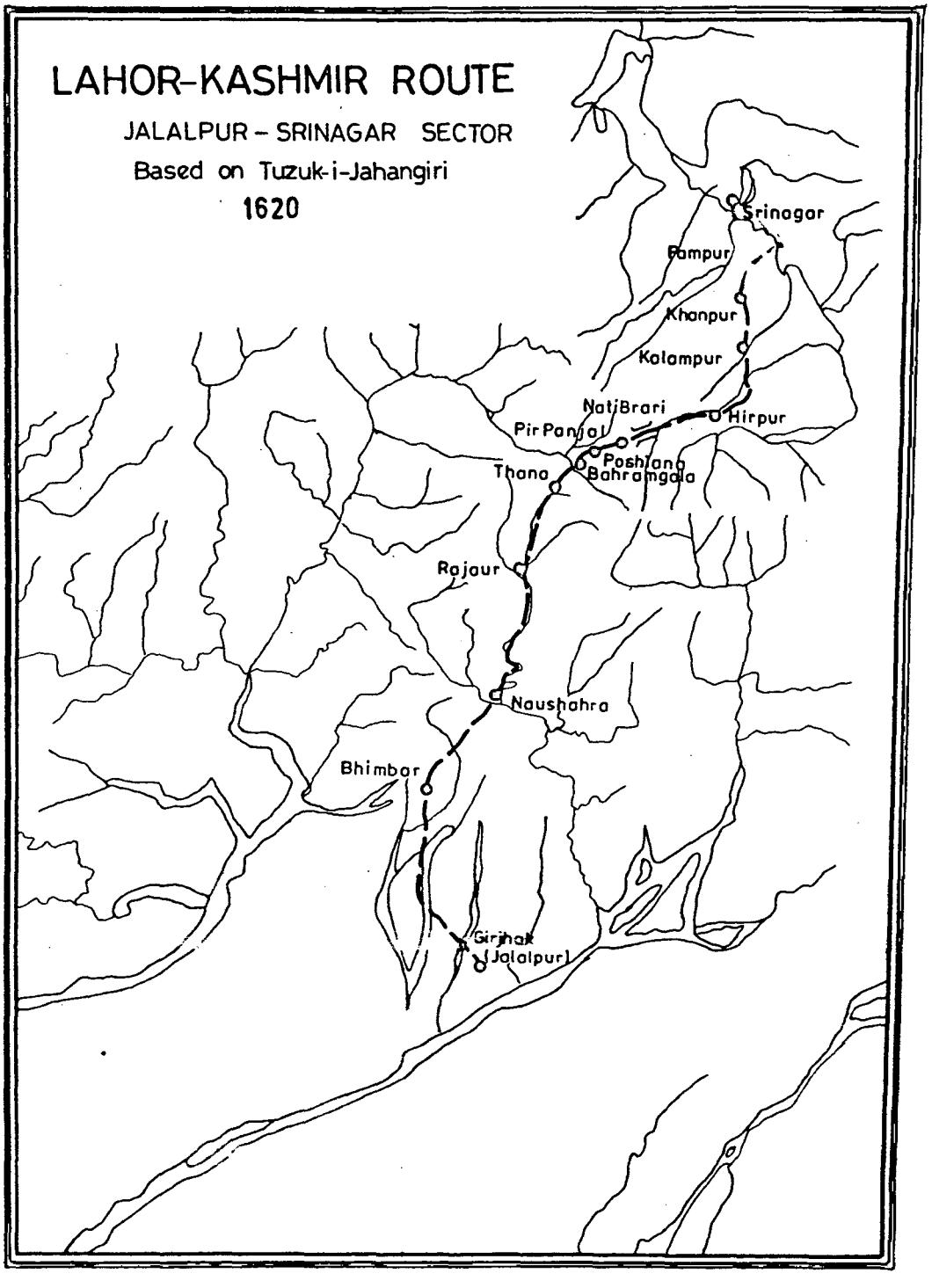
657 TJ, II, p. 178.

658 Ibid. Kalampur is marked on some maps on the road between Srinagar and Shupian.

659 TJ, II, p. 178.

660 Ibid., p. 179. For various names and for their possible location see Akbar's Expedition on this road.

661 TJ, II, p. 179.


LAHOR-KASHMIR ROUTE
JALALPUR - SRINAGAR SECTOR
Based on Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
1620
Srinagar
Pampur
Khanpur
Kalampur
Nati Brari
Hirpur
Pir Panjal
Poshiana
Bahramgala
Thana
Rajaur
Naushahra
Bhimbar
Girjhak
(Jalalpur)

Map 4.26

cult for thought even to cross it. In these last few days snow had repeatedly fallen, the hills had become white, and in the middle of the path in some places ice had formed, so that the hoof of the horse had no hold and a rider could only pass with difficulty."[662]

On Tuesday, the 5th, going by the pass of Pir Panjal the camp was pitched at Poshana.[663] Although on this side there is a descent, yet as it is high, most of the people passed it on foot. Next day the camp was pitched at Bahram-galla.[664] Near this village there is a waterfall[665] and a very fine spring, which was noticed by Jahangir. According to the Tuzuk, Jahangir ordered to make a terrace for him to sit, as from this place the sight of the waterfall is beautiful. Jahangir gave orders that "they should engrave on a stone tablet the date of the crossing, and place it on the top of the terrace[666] (suffa)". Bi-dadal K. composed the couplet, "and this mark of my fortune remains on the path

662 Ibid.

663 Ibid. It is Pushiana of Abul Fazl.

664 Ibid.

665 Ibid. This waterfall now known as Noori Chamb, is on the left bank of Suran river. Jahangir constructed here a bathing spot for Noor Jahan. It has a spacious plateform and on the left-side of the fall there is a room for taking bath.

666 At Noori Chamb (waterfall) the terraced plateform is still there but there is no stone tablet.

of poetry as a memorial on the tablet of time."[667]

On Thursday, the village of Thana[668] became the encamping place. Jahangir observed the difference between Bahramgalla and the places through which he had passed earlier on the road as he mentions that "... from this stage (Thana) a great difference was apparent in the climate, the language, the clothing, the animals and whatever properly belongs to a warm country. The people here speak both Persian and Hindi. Evidently Hindi is their real language, and they have acquired Kashmiri on account of the proximity of Kashmir.[669] Briefly, one enters India at this place."[670]

On Friday, they encamped at Rajouri.[671] About the river[672] at Rajaur, Jahangir mentions that the water becomes much poisoned during the rainy season. By drinking it people get swelling (bugma) under the throat, and grow weak and yellow. He encamped, at Naushahra,[673] on Sunda. Jahangir

667 TJ, II, p. 179.

668 Ibid., p. 180.

669 This statement of Jahangir seems to be correct, as people of Bahramgalla still understand the languages which Jahangir refers to. Thana should not be a part of Kashmiri speaking region, as mentioned by Abul Fazl.

670 TJ, II, p. 180.

771 It is Rajauri of AN. It is ancient Rajapuri, Abberuni's Rajawari and modern Rajori. During the times of Hindu kings, it was the capital of a small hill state, situated immediately to the south of Pir Panjal range and often tributary to Kashmir.

772 TJ, II, p. 181. In fact, this is river Tahi, while many of the travellers and writers mention this river as Tawi.

773 TJ, II, p. 181.

mentions that by the order of Akbar "they had built a stone fort and there is constantly here, by way of station (thana), a body of men from the governor of Kashmir."[674] Next day they encamped at Chanki Hatti[675] and on Tuesday at Bhimbar.[676] That was the end of their journey through the mountainous terrain.

Jahangir proceeded towards Girjhak[677] and in five marches encamped on the banks of Bihat.[678] Jahangir participated in hunting and various other sports on the way to Lahor where he reached on 5th Muharram of AH 1030 (20 November 1620).[679]

4.3.2 Kashmir-Kabul Route via Pakli

The Pakli route, better known as Jhelum gorge route, although quite difficult to traverse has been used by traders, pilgrims, travellers since ancient times. The Great Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang who entered the Valley of Kashmir from

674 Ibid.

675 Ibid.

676 Ibid.

677 Ibid., p. 182. Girjhak is said to be the ancient name of Jalalpur.

678 TJ, II, p. 182.

679 Ibid., p. 183.

the West in September 631 found a stone gate at the entrance of the valley. He stayed for the night in the monastery of Hu-se Kia-lo or Kushkava.[680] This place is mentioned by Abu-Rihan, who makes Ushkara the same as Baramula, which occupied both sides of the river.[681] Alberuni describes the route as "best known entrance to Kashmir". Identification of the starting point of his itinerary is yet to be done but it is clear that the route which he mentions is not other than Jhelum gorge route. This was the most direct route between Kashmir and Kabul after crossing Indus at Ohind (Hund) or Attock.

Though, both Akbar and Jahangir travelled through this route but did very little to develop it as they preferred the Pir Panjal route, which was closer to their seat of Empire - Agra or Lahor route was used by Akbar in 1589, when he was returning from Kashmir and had a plan to visit Kabul. Abul Fazl, who was with Akbar on this journey, gives a detailed account of the Kashmir-Kabul route. Jahangir also accompanied Akbar in this journey. Jahangir, however, described this route when he again went to Kashmir through it in 1620. Though, it is clear from the contemporary sources that the Pir Panjal route became far more important than the Pakli route after the inclusion of Kashmir in the Mughal

680 Cunningham, A., p. 77.

681 Ibid., p. 84.

Empire, the latter route, however, did not loose its status as a leading trade route.

For a better understanding, of the significance of this route it is necessary to know the functions for which the route was being used during the times of the Early Mughals.

a) Trade: owing to the extremely confined nature of the gorge, communication along it must have always been troublesome and risky in the medieval times. Nevertheless it must have been used for the trade between Kashmir and Persia and Western Turkistan (via Kabul) especially in light goods as handling heavy goods by this difficult and rugged route was almost impossible. There are various reference to prove that this route was being used for trade and commerce during the period under study. For example, Jahangir refers to a large number of merchants, living at Baramula, the gate of Kashmir. The Kotal near Kishan Ganga was known as Pimdarang (cotton delay) signifying the fact that the route was being used to carry cotton.

b) Military expeditions: It seems probable that the military importance of Jhelum gorge route was far smaller than that of the Pir Panjal route. It was only from the Afghan occupation of Kashmir that this western route attained real prominence. Since this route does not pass through higher altitudes, it is the only one that is almost free from snow in winter and is of great importance during winter seasons.

c) Travellers and Pilgrims: The real function of this route during the ancient and medieval times has been confined to receive visitors and pilgrims since early time. Hwen Thsang and Ou-K'-ong entered Kashmir from the west of this route, and it is by this route that many learned scholars and Sufis from Persia and Turkistan came to the valley. It was also well known to Alberuni. There are frequent reference to this route in the works of Kalhana, Srivara and Jonaraja.

4.3.2.1 Akbar's Expedition from Kashmir to Kabul (1589)

Akbar decided to travel by the Pakli route[682] as he was planning to go to Kabul. Hashim Khan, the son of Qasim Khan was sent to repair the Pakli road, around July 3, 1589. Many stone-breakers and diggers accompanied him.[683] After sending these people Akbar decided to go to Maraj by boat so that he could sit and enjoy the scenery. Special boats were prepared for the King and his entourage of near friends and relations. More than a thousand boats were put in readiness. There was almost a city upon the waters.[684]

While returning from Maraj, Akbar encamped after pass-

682 This route passes through the Sarkar of Pakli, so it was called as Pakli route. The route is better known as Jhelum (Bihat) gorge route and was the shortest route to reach Kabul from Kashmir.

683 AN, III, p. 835.

684 Ibid.

ing through Srinagar around 19th of July. On the way, his boat collided with a bridge but fortunately no damage was done.[685] After two days more he travelled 4 kos 60 poles and encamped at Shihabuddinpur.[686] Here Sultan Qoresh of Kashghar[687] arrived and was received with royal favours. His lineage goes back to Chingez Khan. On 23 July Akbar travelled (by boat) 3¼ kos 12 poles and arrived near Sopur.[688] On the way he visited the garden of the Bagh Safa which Mirza Haider[689] had laid. Next day he travelled 4½ kos, 72 poles, and halted near Patan.[690] He disembarked here and went on by land (see Map 4.27).

After three halts (three days) they resumed their march and travelled 3¼ kos, 60 poles, and encamped near Nau-

685 Ibid., p. 840.

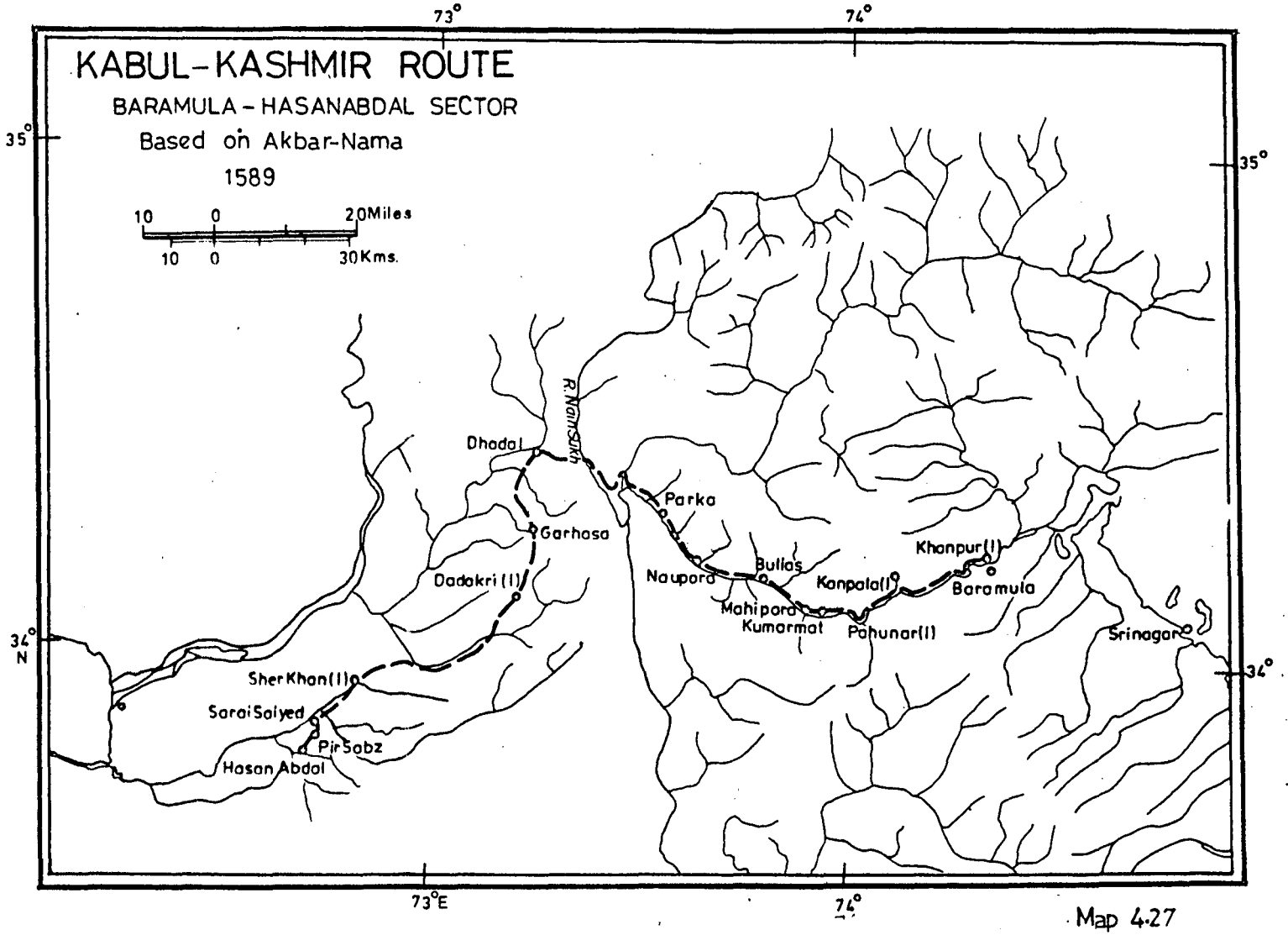
686 Ibid. Shahabuddinpur is now known as Shadipur and lies about 12 miles north-west of Srinagar, near the junction of the Sindh river.

687 Ibid. It shows apart from other things that the route between Kashghar and Kashmir was under the common use that is why Sultan Qoresh came to meet Akbar in Kashmir.

688 Ibid., p. 845. According to Beveridge, the text has Satpur, but probably the place is Sopur at the south-west Corner of the Wular lake (f.n. 2).

689 Ibid. The reference to Bagh Safa is there in Tabaqat-i-Akberi and Ferishta in connection with the burning of the building of Bagh Safa by rebellious Kashmiris (f.n. 2).

690 Ibid. Patan lies on the Srinagar-Baramula road but far away from Bihat river thus it is difficult to explain how Akbar reached Patan by boat. The only possibility is that the Patan stands at the head of a small canal and the passage is navigable but in the height of the rainy season.


KABUL-KASHMIR ROUTE
BARAMULA - HASANABDAL SECTOR
Based on Akbar-Nama
1589
10 0 20 Miles
10 0 30 Kms.
73°
74°
35°
34° N
73°E
R. Nainsukh
Dhadal
Garhasa
Dadakri (I)
Sher Khan (I)
Sarai Saiyed
Pir Sabz
Hasan Abdal
Parka
Naupora
Bullas
Kanpala (I)
Mahipora
Kumarmat
Pahunar (I)
Khanpur (I)
Baramula
Srinagar

Map 4.27

para.[691] Abul Fazl, mentions that in Kashmir "there are porters who carry immense burden, and traverse hills, as if they were plains. These men transported much baggage. It was a wonderful sight."[692] Akbar set out next day at dawn, and having travelled 2 kos, 20 poles encamped, at Barahmula.[693] Abul Fazl, describes Baramula as the gate of Kashmir He writes, "on one side there is a sky touching hills, and on the other the Bihat tumultously rushes towards India. Between the two there is a narrow path. Since a long time, the rulers have made a gate there and the guards admit no one without passport."[694]

When Akbar was in Baramula, Zain Khan Koka arrived from Pakli and did homage. Akbar sent him forward in order that he might make a strong bridge over the Indus.[695] They left the Bihat[696] and encamped after travelling ¾ of a kos,

691 Ibid., p. 846. Beveridge identified it with Nurpur and says that it can also be Tapor of maps as in Persian script the difference is only of dots (f.n. 2) in the script.

692 AN, III, pp. 846-847.

693 Ibid., p. 847. Barmula, during the medieval times was settled only on the right bank of the Jhelum river.

694 Ibid. The significance of Baramula was due to its location along the Jhelum gorge - the only possible route for the large number of travellers and traders from west.

695 AN, III, p. 847.

696 Ibid. The word 'left' is perhaps not correct. In fact they must have crossed the Bihat as the route they followed was along the right bank of the river.

plus 20 poles. After one day they travelled 3 kos, 20 bambus and halted near Khanpur.[697] On the next day Akbar halted at the village of Kanpala,[698] after travelling 4 kos and 60 poles. The description of the way is given by Abul Fazl as follows: "It snowed for most of the way upto this place. One side there is a lofty mountain. The one on the right, in returning, was bare of trees; the other was full of Cypresses and pines, though the distance between these two places was very small."[699]

At dawn he started again and marched $3\frac{3}{4}$ kos, 60 poles and halted near Pahunar,[700] a dependency of Dajan Kharu.[701]

697 Ibid. Though there is a Kanpur just below the Baramula on the left bank of the Jhelum but it can hardly be Kanpur of Stein's and Montgomeries maps Possibly this was Zeehanpure of Montgomeries map which is on the right bank of Jhelum on the west of Baramula. In Persian script, there is hardly any difference between these two words ().

698 Ibid., p. 848. Beveridge identified it as Kanelwar of Bate's. But it seems impossible as Bate's Kanelwar lies in Lat.33° 48 N, Long. 75° 12' E which is far away from the route. The location of the place is shown approximately.

699 AN, III, pp. 848-849.

700 Ibid., p. 849. Beveridge identified it as Bhaniyar on the right bank of Harpatkai river at its junction with the Jhelum. But it is not possible as the distance between Baramula and Bhaniyar is about 12 miles, while according to distances given by Abul Fazl it is nearly 30 miles. Pahunar should be closer to Kuarmast pass.

701 Ibid. According to Beveridge "Dajan is a clerical error of Dacan and the compound word Dajankharu, i.e. right and left" (f.n. 2). In fact Daccan or Dakshin is not left but south which in this case is the same.

About this part of the region Abul Fazl mentions that "In going from Baramula upto the river Kishan Gang the country on the right hand is called Dajanpara, and that on the left is called Kharu.[702] Next day they travelled 3¼ kos and 89 poles and encamped at the village of Mahipura.[703] There were many ups and downs in the way including the most difficult pass, the Kuarmast[704] on the route.

Next day early in the morning he resumed his march and after travelling 4¼ kos, 26 poles through defiles he halted near Bulias.[705] From Bulias to Kishangang lies the territory of Mastang.[706] Next day, he marched 4 kos and after crossing the Bulias pass camped near Naupara.[707] Abul Fazl discribes the route and its difficulties in these words, "The road was almost unparalled for difficulty, narrowness, and

702 AN, III, p. 849.

703 Ibid. It is Paipara in I.O. MS. 236. It may be Maira between Riwand and Kahai, as this place is on the right bank of Jhelum and in Persian there is a fair chance of this variation (). The name might also have changed in time. The given distance of this place from Bulias also supports this assumption.

704 AN, III, p. 849. It is Kakaramast of Elphinstones map. Bourbel writes it as Kumarmust.

705 Ibid., p. 850. It is Peliasa of the map, Montgomerie and Bourbel. Stein calls it as Buliasa, which in his view was Bolyasaka of ancient times. Jahangir mentions it as Bhulbas.

706 AN, III, 850.

707 Ibid. Perhaps it is Naushahra about three miles east of Garhi.

height and hollows."[708]

After a march of 4 kos, 10 poles, Akbar, encamped near Barka[709] and crossed the river Kishan Gang[710] by a bridge and after travelling 3¼ kos, 82 poles encamped near Sikri.[711] It was 11th August, 1589. Next day a formidable pass 3½ kos long was traversed, and the encampment was made near the Nain Sukh river.[712] After one day Akbar passed the defiles of Batras.[713] He travelled 5 kos, 30 poles and encamped at Gahi,[714] a dependency of Pakli. Abul Fazl mentions that from here a plain became visible, and provisions after being very dear were now cheap.[715]

708 AN, III, p. 850.

709 Ibid. It is Parka in I.O. MS. 236. It is identified as Prak, on the right bank of Jhelum, at a distance of 10 miles from Muzafferabad. These two words are very much alike in Persian script.

710 Ibid. Kishan Ganga river was the boundary between the territories of Mastang and Pakli. There is much fonfusion about this word. There are many other words used for Mastang, as Pushang, Shahbang, Sahsak.

711 Ibid. It is probable that this place was on the right bank of Kishan Gang, north of Muzaffarabad.

712 Ibid., p. 851. It is known as Kunhar. It is probable that Akbar encamped on the left bank of the Nain Sukh.

713 Ibid. Beveridge, identified it as Batrassigalli west of Garhi Habibulbh of Hazara Gazetteer, p. 138 (f.n.3).

714 Ibid. It not possible to identify this place.

715 Ibid.

Next day 4 kos, 80 poles were traversed and they encamped near Dadhal.[716] The following day, traversing 3 kos, 90 poles, Akbar encamped at Garhasa.[717] The next camp was made at Dahakari,[718] after travelling for 4¾ kos, 3 poles, by the road, which was narrow and full of streams. They started early in the morning and travelled 3¾ kos, 80 poles and halted between Khora and Manikzhala, which was a seat of the Dilazaks.[719] Next day he travelled 4 kos and halted near Serai of Saiyed Pir Sabz.[720] The next camp was made near the serai of Zainuddin Ali, after passing Baba Hasan Abdal.[721] On that day he travelled 4¼ kos, 50 poles. Next morning he crossed the river Tarabardi[722] and passed the Serai of Bahadur and halted. This march was 3¾ kos. On 24th

716 Ibid. Beveridge, identified it as Dodyal, 25 miles from Abbottabad (f.n. 4). This identification seems correct.

717 AN, III, p. 851.

718 Ibid., p. 853. Approdimate location is shown in the map.

719 Ibid. It is not possible to locate Khora and Manikzhala Dilazak Afghans must have migrated east of Indus from their homeland. During the period under study they are found scattered here and there and lost their identity in due course of time. See, tribal distribution of Dilazaks.

720 Ibid. It is possibly Sawajpeer of the map north of Hasan Abdal.

721 Ibid. Situated on the top of a steep hill, contains the shrine of Baba Hasan Abdal. It is also known as Panja Sahib, in consequence of the mark of the hand of Guru Nanak the founder of the Sikh religion.

722 Ibid. It should be Haru river.

August 1589, he travelled, 4½ kos and encamped by the river Indus near Atak Benares.[723] From Srinagar to this place in 96 kos, 77 poles.[724]

Akbar crossed the Indus by the bridge which had been constructed below Attock, on 31st August 1589. He marched 28 poles and halted near the Serai of Khairabad.[725] Abul Fazl mentions that 'those (people) who were wearied with the journey, and those who loved the shade and their homes, expected that after such troublesome journies His Majesty would not go to Kabul, and that his only design was to hunt and recreate himself on the bank of the Indus."[726] But Akbar proceeded towards Kabul and after three days halts, marched 3 kos, 25 poles and halted near Elias-garha.[727] The camp was near Gorkhatra[728] when Shah Beg came from Swad and requested the King to visit Begram[729] which was in his fief.

723 Ibid. The road between Hasan Abadal and Attock has not been clearly mentioned and most of the places mentioned cannot be identified.

724 Ibid. The approximate distance between these two places must be the same as was between Lahor and Srinagar i.e. 250 miles.

725 Ibid., p. 855. The settlement of Khairabad is just across Indus opposite Attock.

726 AN, III, p. 855.

727 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.

728 Ibid. It is Gur-Khattri of BN.

729 Ibid.

On 11th September, Akbar traversed the Khaibar and halted at Daka.[730] Qasim Khan who was sent to repair the road did his job efficiently as Abul Fazl mentions that "Qasim had so improved the road, which camels and horses used to traverse with difficulty that carts passed through easily."[731] On 14th September Karam Ullah came from Malwa and did homage near Khwaja Yaqut Sarai.[732] At the stage of Safed Sang[733] the idea of travelling rapidly occurred to Akbar so "he left the great camp under the charge of Prince Murad, to come on slowly, and at the close of the 8th (18th September) he urged on his steed".[734] At mid-day he rested near Barik Ab.[735] When half the night had passed, he renewed his journey and on the 10th he illuminated Kabul by his advent." Abul Fazl mentions that, "on the whole way, Turks and Tajiks came forward on both sides with presents and offerings.... From Attock Benares to Kabul is 92¾ kos, 41 poles,[736] and they were traversed in 21 days and 18 marches".[737]

730 Ibid., p. 856.

731 Ibid.

732 Ibid. This place could not be identified.

733 Ibid.

734 Ibid.

735 Ibid.

736 The distance between Attock and Kabul is slightly less than the distance between Srinagar-Lahor or Srinagar-Attock. But due to better condition of the road, the time consumed on the journey was significantly less.

737 AN, III, p. 857.

Prince Murad arrived with the family and household on the 15th.

4.3.2.2 Jahangir's Expedition from Hasan Abdal to Kashmir (1620)

When Jahangir decided to visit Kashmir he sent off Nuruddin Quli to repair as far as possible the ups and downs of the Punch route and to prepare it, so that the passage of the laden beasts over difficult hill tops might be accomplished with ease and that the men should not undergo labour and hardship."[738] But when Jahangir was near Karohi, a pargana on the bank of Bihat, he received a written report from Nuruddin Quli that "he had repaired the Punch road, and levelled the defiles as far as possible, but that snow fell for some days and night, and lay on the Kotals to the depth of three cubits."[739]

Jahangir was interested in seeing the spring and the sprouting of bloom so he could not wait for the route to be cleared and decided to proceed by way of Pakli and Damtur.[740] He, therefore, reached Hasan Abdal, and stayed there for two days[741] as he writes that beyond this, "hills, passes, and many ups and downs were before us, the passage of the camp appeared a difficult matter.[742] It was decided that some

738 TJ, II, pp. 97-98.

739 Ibid., p. 121.

740 Ibid.

741 Ibid., p. 123.

742 Ibid.

Begums should delay for some days, and come on at leisure. Some officers and servants went by the Punch road.[743] Jahangir and with some privileged courtiers and necessary servants proceeded towards Kashmir via Pakli route on Friday, the 17th of Isfandarmuz. They marched 3½ kos and halted at the village of Sultanpur[744] (see Map 4.28). Next day after marching 4½ kos, Jahangir halted at the village of Sanji. From this place began pargana of Hazara Qarlugh.[745] On Sunday, marching 3¾ kos, they halted at the village of Naushahra.[746] About the beauty of the place which is in the territory of Dhantur, Jahangir mentions that "As far as the eye could reach there were green meadows interspread with the thal Kanwal (hibiscus) and other flowers in bloom. It was a very beautiful sight.[747]

On Monday, after travelling 3½ kos, he halted at the village of Salhar[748] and on Tuesday, marching 3 kos they halted at the village of Malgalli.[749] That day there was a

743 Ibid.

744 Ibid. It is on the southern bank of the Harro river (Elliot VI, p. 367).

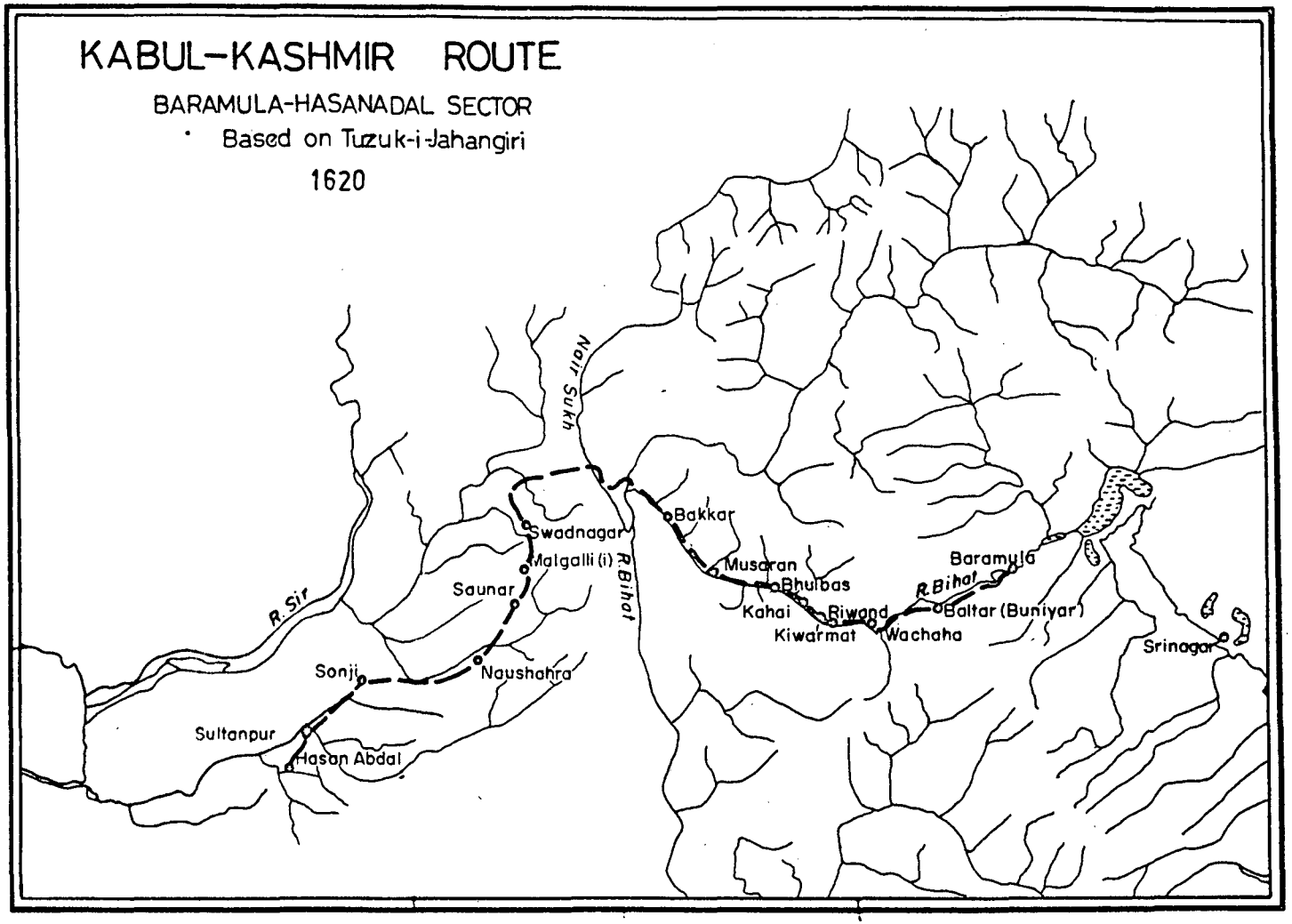
745 Ibid., p. 124. Elliot has Hazara Farigh.

746 Ibid. It is on the eastern bank of the river Dhor.

747 Ibid., p. 124.

748 Ibid.

749 Ibid. There is a variation in the name of this place. It has been approximately located on the map.


KABUL–KASHMIR ROUTE
BARAMULA-HASANADAL SECTOR
Based on Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
1620
Nar Sukh
Swadnagar
Malgalli (i)
Saunar
R. Sir
Sonji
Naushahra
Sultanpur
Hasan Abdal
R. Bihat
Bakkar
Musaran
Bhulbas
Kahai
Kiwarmat
Riwand
Wachaha
R. Bihat
Baltar (Buniyar)
Baramula
Srinagar

Map 4.28

drizzling rain till the end of the march. The next day also it rained. In the morning snow fell and as most of the roads had become very slippery, the weak animals fell in every place and could not rise again and 25 of Jahangir's own elephants were bent to assist them.[750] They halted for two days on account of the snow. On Friday, the 24th they marched 4 kos and pitched at the village of Sawadnagar.[751] Jahangir mentions that on this road too, there was much mud. Next day they halted near Pakli,[752] the distance covered was 3½ kos.

On Wednesday, 29th, having marched 5¼ kos, and crossing by bridge the Nain Sukh, he encamped near the left bank of the river.[753] These two bridges were made on the two branches of the Nain Sukh.[754] Next day, having marched about 3½ kos a halt was made on the bank of Kishan Ganga.[755] About the route, Jahangir mentions that "on this road there is a Kotal of great height, the ascent being 1 kos, and the descent 1½ kos, which they call Pim darang. The reason for this

750 TJ, II, p. 125.

751 Ibid. Elliot has Tawadkar.

752 Ibid. Perhaps, they encamped near the Pakli river. The name of the capital of the Sarkar of Pakli is not found in any of the contemporary sources. Perhaps it was Dhudial or Dadhal.

753 TJ, II, p. 127.

754 Ibid.

755 Ibid., p. 128.

name is that in the language they call cotton (pambal) pim. As the rulers of Kashmir had placed a superintendent there who took duties from loads of cotton, and delay takes place here for the collection of the duty it has became known as the Pimdarang (cotton delay)".[756]

There was an old bridge over Kishan Ganga, 54 yards long and 1½ yards wide, which the footmen crossed. According to the orders of Jahangir, another parallel bridge was prepared which was 53 yards long and 3 yards wide. "As the water was deep and swift, they took the elephants across without loads and the footmen and horses crossed, by the bridge."[757]

On the Saturday, the 2nd (Farwadin), 11 March 1620, having marched 4½ kos, Jahangir halted at the village of Bakkar.[758] On the road there was no hill pass (Kotal) but it was rather stony.[759] Jahangir very vividly describes the Jhelum gorge route in the following words: "from this place to Kashmir the road is along the bank of river Bihat. There are hills on both sides, and in the bottom of the valley the water flows with great force, boiling and ranging. However large an elephant may be he cannot hold his feet firmly in

756 Ibid., p. 128.

757 Ibid.

758 Ibid., p. 130. It is Barka or Parka of AN and identified as Prak.

759 TJ, II, p. 130.

it, but immediately rolls over, and is carried away. There are also water dogs in the river."[760] There, next day after travelling 4½ kos, they encamped at Mausaran.[761]

On Monday, marching 2½ kos, he pitched at Bhulbas.[762] Jahangir describes the difficulty of the road in these words, "they said these hills were very narrow and difficult to pass", and they could be crossed by a crowd of men only with great trouble.[763] When Jahangir reached the Kotal of Bhulbas, snow and rain began to fall. On Tuesday after traversing 2 kos Jahangir alighted at the village of Kahai.[764] From this stage according to Jahangir they "entered within the boundary of Kashmir."[765]

On Wednesday, after marching 3 kos his camp was pitched at the village of Riwand.[766] On Thursday, the 7th, after crossing the Kotal of Kuwarmat, which was the most

760 Ibid.

761 Ibid.

762 Ibid., p. 131. It is Buliasa of AN and is identified with the Peliasa of maps.

763 TJ, II, p. 131.

764 Ibid., p. 132. It is Kathai on the right bank of Jhelum about four miles from Bhulbas or Buliasa.

765 TJ, II, p. 131. It is highly probable that the traditional boundary of Kashmir was the pass of Buliasa as mentioned by Abul Fazl (AN, III, p. 850). Jahangir also mentions that "In the same Kotal of Bhulbas, Yaqub, S. Yusuf K. Kashmiri fought with the victorious army of my father, of which Raja Bhagwan Das, father of Raja Man Singh, was the leader". TJ, II, p. 132. It is possible that the Kotal was the boundary but Kahai was the first Kashmiri settlement on the road.

766 TJ, II, p. 132. It lies at a distance of about ½ mile

difficult pass on the Jhelum gorge route[767] they encamped at the village of Wachaha.[768] The distance covered was 4¼ kos. On Friday the 8th, having travelled nearly 4 kos, he halted at the village of Baltar.[769] There was no Kotal on the road. On Saturday, 18th March 1620 Jahangir marched 4¾ kos and crossed over at Baramula. About this town he mentions that, "It is one of the noted towns of Kashmir and 14 kos distant from the city (Srinagar), situated on the bank of Behat. A number of the merchants of Kashmir live in it."[770]

On Sunday, when two watches of the day had passed he arrived at Shihabuddinpur.[771] On Monday, 20th March, Jahangir alighted at the building lately erected on the bank of the Dal Lake.[772] Jahangir mentions that "From Hasan Abdal

Cont'd.. f.n. 766

west of Kuwarmust pass.

767 Ibid., p. 133. Abul Fazl also mentions the same.

768 Ibid.

769 Ibid. Beveridge identified it as Buniyar, which is on the left bank of the Jhelum. He is of the opinion that perhaps Jahangir crossed the river at Uri. On the map it is Bhaniar on the right bank of Harpathi river at its junction with Jhelum. On 1.0 Ms., p. 181, it is Butiyar ().

770 TJ, II, p. 133.

771 Ibid., p. 135.

772 Ibid., p. 139.

to Kashmir by the road I came, is a distance of 75 kos;[773] this was accomplished in nineteen marches and six halts - that is, in twenty-five days."[774]

4.3.3 Sind-Lahor Route

The lower Indus plain or Sind region has been fortunate to possess both overland and river routes. The overland route mainly converged on Thatta and Lahri Bandar or radiated from important cities and towns along the river, towards east and west. The most important of all the routes was Thatta-Lahor route, connecting Lahore with Lahri Bandar, the most important port of the Sind region. An alternate route was from Thatta to Umarkot, thence onward either to Bhakkar or to Jaisalmer. But before describing, Thatta-Lahor route in detail, it is better, to discuss some of the other routes, linking Sind with surrounding regions.

Apart from Thatta-Lahor route, two other important routes, which have been discussed in this study are; Thatta-Badin-Cutch-Gujarat and Bhakkar-Siwi-Qandahar route, leading to Iran and Central Asia. Siwistan was also well connected with other cities of Sind via the river and through two roads across the Lakki hills. The hill crossings were known

773 Ibid. This distance is slightly less than mentioned by Abdul Fazl, which was about 84 kos. It may be due to the relative direct route followed by Jahangir as compared to that of Akbar.

774 TJ, II, p. 139.

as Baqi-ji (of Baqi Tarkhans) and Ganah (in the form of an oil press formation).

The main road linking the capital town of Thatta with the most important sea port of Lahri Bandar, was not always safe to travel. This forty mile route between the two cities was often threatened with marauding bands of the Baluch and Samijah high way men, who became so bold towards the end of the seventeenth century that they plundered caravans having 250 beasts and 500 merchants.[775] The road along the Lakki hills used to be submerged by the river during the rainy seasons and routes across the hills Baqi-ji and Ganah were infested by Baluches.[776] The route via Umarkot was preferred only when the other routes proved dangerous or inpassable due to rains.[777] However, the route was difficult to be used during the summers due to unbearable high temperatures. The water on the route was scarce and brackish. The wells were so deep that drawing water was very troublesome. At the same time, it was necessary to carry seven days supplies for the two stages viz. Thatta to Umarkot and Umarkot to Jaisalmer.

The overland routes in Sind due to a number of obstacles, physical or manmade, were unsuitable for movement of

775 A. Hamilton, A New Account of the East Indies, ed. W. Foster, 1930, London.

776 Khan, p. 177.

777 Manrique was advised to adopt this route as late rain in winter had made other roads unpassable.

heavy cargo which was mostly sent through the river route. Within the Sind region, bulk of the goods, nearly for eight months of the year were transported through boats. The same was true of the traffic between the Punjab and Sind.[778] The distance between Lahor and Thatta could be covered from 12 to 18 days time.[779] The merchants from Agra and other distant places found it cheaper to bring their goods overland to Multan. From Multan to Thatta all transport charges including custom did not exceed one rupee per maund. In the same way from Siwistam to Thatta the freight charges amounted to ½ rupee per maund, while overland freight between Lahri Bandar and Thatta for a distance of 40 miles was Re. 1½ per camel.[780] However, the journey upward was slow and costlier than the downward journey. The distance from Thatta to Lahor was covered in 6 or 7 weeks time, while a large crew had to be employed for tracking the boat against strong currents and opposite winds.[781]

The Lahor-Thatta route, as mentioned earlier, was the most important route of the Sind region both overland and by the river. About the land routes, one thing should be kept in mind, that the roads mentioned in the contemporary sources

778 Khan, p. 178.

779 Hamilton, p. 76.

780 Khan, p. 179. He quotes English Factories in India, 1634-36, pp. 133-135, 130-131.

781 Hamilton, p. 76.

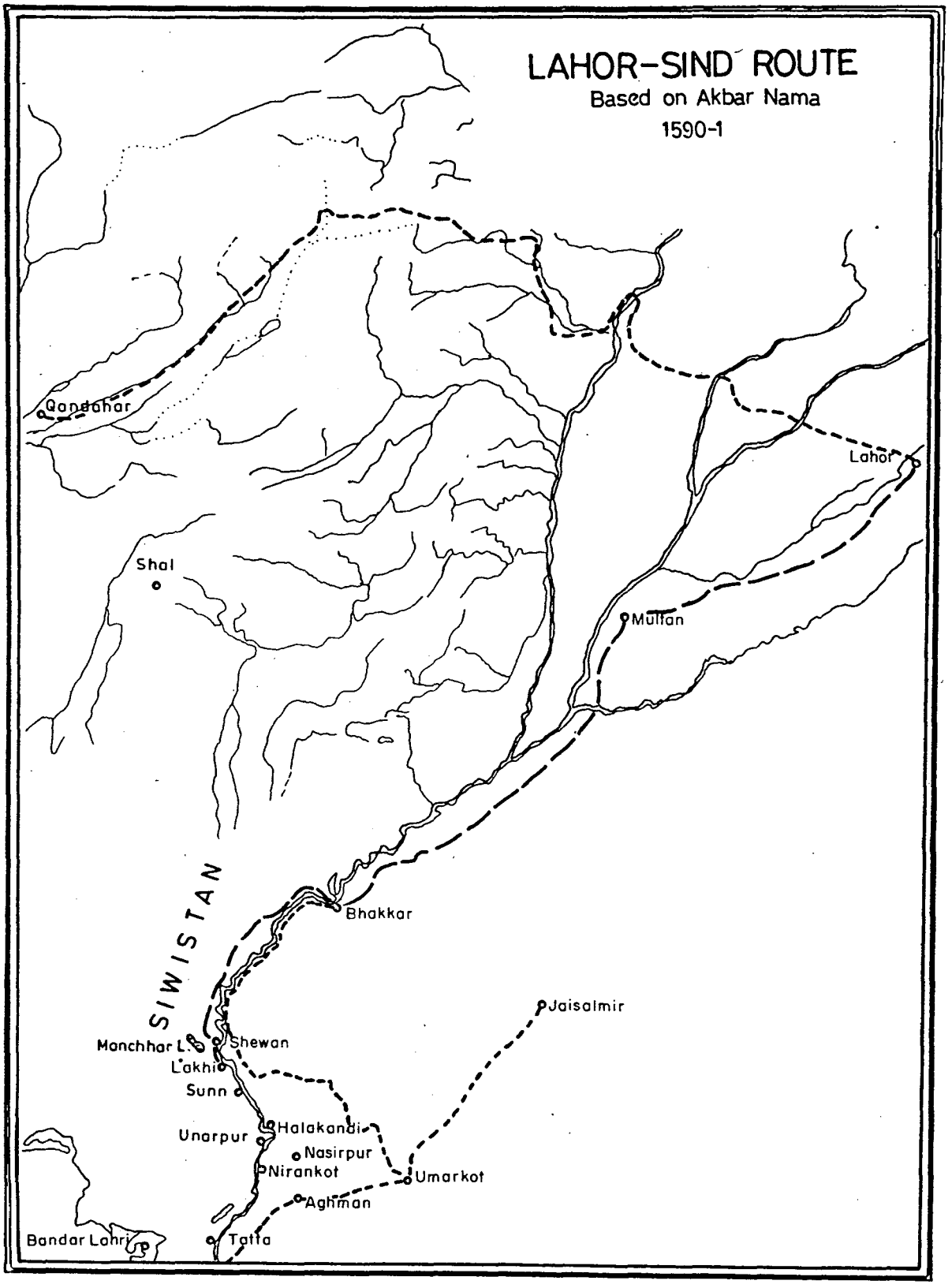
were not regular roads like those of the modern period. Though there are various references to Lahor-Thatta route but for the period under study only the accounts of Khan-Khanan's expedition to Sind are detailed enough to be plotted on the maps. For a better understanding of the route, two versions of Khan-Khanan's expedition to Sind have been consulted and plotted. Abul Fazl, discusses this expedition in detail. To supplement this information, Mir Muhammad Masum's account of this expedition has also been plotted separately. Masum who was from Bhakkar, gives a brief but clear and accurate account of this expedition in which he himself participated.

4.3.3.1 Khan-Khanan's Expedition to Sind (1590-91) Based on Akbar Nama.

A choice army was appointed under the command of the Khan-Khanan to conquer Qandahar. But Khan-Khanan left the near road by Ghazin and Bangash,[782] and took a long route in order to look after his jagirs i.e., Multan and Bhakkar (see Map 4.29). But it seems that Khan-Khanan requested Akbar to change the plan and to conquer the Sind before Qandahar.[783]

782 AN, III, p. 917. There are various references to this route in the contemporary sources but unfortunately there is no detail account of the Lahor-Multan-Bazigash-Ghazni-Qandahar route in any of the sources.

783 AN, III, p. 917.


LAHOR-SIND ROUTE
Based on Akbar Nama
1590-1
Qandahar
Lahor
Shal
Multan
SIWISTAN
Bhakkar
Jaisalmir
Manchhar L.
Shewan
Lakhi
Sunn
Halakandi
Unarpur
Nasirpur
Nirankot
Umarkot
Aghman
Bandar Lahri
Tatta

Map 4.29

Near Multan the Baluchis waited on him and made promises.[784] Near Bhakkar he drew up his forces.[785] There they got the news that fire had broken out in the fort of Sehwan[786] and consumed the provisions.[787] On hearing this the troops went on rapidly by land and water. Those who went by water passed under the fort of Sehwan and took Lakhi.[788] According to Abul Fazl, Lakhi is "like Garhi in Bengal and Barahmula in Kashmir", that is to say entry point or the gate of the country.

Khan-Khanan reached the fort of Sehwan to capture it. The fort was situated on the bank of the Indus on the top of a ridge. Near it was a lake,[789] eight kos in length, and six in breadth. Abul Fazl mentions that "three branches of the river join it. It is a place of refuge for the garrison. Some men live on islands in it and some in boats.[790] Jani

784 AN, III, p. 918.

785 Ibid.

786 Ibid. This region is known as the Sehwan or Siwistan. There has been a lot of confusion about the identification of Sibi or Siwi and Siwistan. Sehwan was located on the western bank of Indus, while Sibi or Siwi lies too far to the north-west.

787 Ibid. "Between the towns of Laki and Sehwan the mountain has a nearly precipitous face about 600 feet high towards the Indus, between which and the precipice there was at one time a road, though in some places so narrow that only a single camel could pass at a time. The defile was swept away in 1839" Gazetteer of Scinde, p. 686.

788 AN, III, p. 918.

789 Ibid. It is Manchhar Lake lying west of Sehwan.

790 AN, III, p. 919.

Beg, the ruler of Sind prepared himself for the battle against the Mughals and constructed a fort[791] at the pass of Nasirpur.[792] He strengthened it by war boats and a park of artillery. According to Abul Fazl "the army was doubtful about advancing." At this time Rawal Bhim the ruler of Jaisalmer and Dalpat D. Rai Singh commented, "our intention was to have come by Bhakkar. Having lost our way we are coming by way of Umarkot.[793] Khan-Khanan left the work of taking the fort and of making the road and set off by land and water. Maqsud Aga and some men were left at the ferries so that the garrison might be alarmed, and the route be in some measure safe.[794] When the Mughal army reached within six kos of the enemy, he out of precaution put up four walls.[795] A great battle was fought in the river in which Jani Beg's forces were defeated.[796] Four ghrabs full men and stores were captured. In one of them was the ambassador or Ormuz.[797] Accord-

791 Ibid. From Abul Fazl's language it seem that fort was constructed at Nasarpur but Mir Masum clearly mentions that the fort was constructed at Bohari, north-west of Nasarpur.

792 Ibid. It is Nasarpur of the modern maps. It was founded by Amir Nasr, one of the officers of Firoz Shah Tughluq along the Indus. The significance of the place declined due to change in the course of the river Indus.

793 It is interesting to note that, the ruler of Jaisalmer lost the route of Bhakkar. It shows clearly that the route between Jaisalmer and Bhakkar was not being used by even the local people.

794 AN, III, p. 919.

795 Ibid., p. 120.

796 Ibid.

797 Ibid.

ing to Abul Fazl, "the rule is that the Governor of Ormuz leaves one (ambassador) at Tatta, in order that there may be a feeling of security among the merchants. Mirza Jani had brought him (along) in order to proclaim that so many tribes had come to help him."[798]

The Mughal troops after succeeding in the river-fight lost the initiative when they delayed in advancing and in the meanwhile Jani Beg was able to strengthen his forces.[799] The fort, near Nasirpur, however, was besieged by the Mughal army. But Sind forces were confident on account of the strength of their position, the number of men, the abundance of their provisions and the help of the peasantry, and were waiting for rains. They thought that after the rains every thing would be under water and the foreign army would be dispersed without an engagement.[800] Khan-Khanan reported the circumstances to the King and asked for help. Rai Singh was sent off with some others by the river-route. Provision, guns, gun-powder etc. were dispatched.[801]

Mughals, however, were forced to abandon the seige due to the scarcity of provisions. A different plan was chalked out. All unnecessary stores were put into boats and sent to

798 Ibid.

799 Ibid., p. 925.

800 Ibid.

801 Ibid.

Sehwan.[802] Most of the soldiers marched towards Thatta[803] envisaging that by plundering they might get ample supplies. It would also spread consternation among the enemy and would them to get hold of the country. Khan Khanan took up his quarters in Jun,[804] which is a central place. Some of the nobles were sent with a force to Agham[805] in order that they might take the cultivated country and watch over Jani Beg. Some others were sent towards Badin,[806] while most of them were sent to Thatta. According to Abul Fazl, "every detachment did good service, but the troop who were sent to Tatta could not get there as the people there set fire to the city."[807]

Mirza Jani Beg came out of his fort and hastened to Sehwan, thinking that he might capture the boats that had been sent there.[808] The Mughal troops, though less in number fought well and defeated the forces of Jani Beg.[809] After

802 Ibid., p. 929.

803 Ibid. Tatta or Thatta was the capital of Sind and after the conquesh of Sind the whole territory was known as the sarkar of Thatta.

804 Ibid.

805 Ibid.

806 Ibid.

807 Ibid.

808 Ibid., p. 930. The reason given in Masumi is somewhat different as Mir Masum mentions that as Sehwan fort was beseiged, people were asked for the help from Jani Beg.

809 Ibid., p. 931.

the defeat, when he was returning towards the fort which he had constructed near Nasirpur, he learnt that it was under the control of Mughal forces.[810] After a long contemplation he approved of a place near Ampur,[811] four kos from Hala-kandi[812] and forty kos from Sehwan. There on the bank of the Indus he built a fort and surrounded it with a deep and broad moat.[813] Khan-Khanan went there and invaded the place but could not take it. At this time the fort of Nirankot[814] which was a choice fortress in that country - was taken. Abul Fazl mentions the circumstances as follows: "A set of Arabs and Kurds, who were in the fort, quarrelled with the governor Qasim Ali and brought in his head and became loyal."[815]

The Mughal army increased their efforts to take the

810 Ibid., p. 938.

811 Ibid. Sonurpur in Malet's translation of Turikh-i-Masumi - Unarpur and Amarpur in Ellist VI, p. 251. Most likely it is Unarpur, on the western bank of Indus. The distance given in AN suits this location.

812 Ibid. Many considered it the old name of Haiderabad which is wrong. In all probability it is old Hala, few miles south-west of the (New) Hala.

813 Ibid.

814 Ibid. It served as the site for modern city of Haiderabad which was founded in 1768-69.

815 Ibid. This shows that in Sind people from different country used to come and stay frequently. Reasons were perhaps socio-economics.

place. When Jani Beg saw no hope he pleaded for peace which was accepted by Khan-Khanan. Jani Beg agreed to surrender the forts of Sehwan and to accompany Khan-Khanan to the Mughal Court.[816] After the peace the victorian army took its quarters in Sann,[817] 20 kos from Sehwan. When the rains came to an end they were in expectation of the arrival of the Mirza but Mirza sent a message saying that "he would go to court after collecting the autumn-revenue; also that the agreement was that this side of Sehwan would be restored to him but Puran (?) and Halakandi had not been given up."[818]

Some confusion ensued, Khan-Khanan despatched forces to different directions to force Jani Beg to court.[819] The Mughal troops prevailed over Nasurpur. Khan-Khanan himself reached Nasirpur and, proceeded as far as Tatta.[820] Mirza again agreed to go to the court.[821] Khan Khanan went on to Bandar Lahari after Tatta.[822] Mirza Jani Beg was received

816 AN, III, p. 940.

817 Ibid., p. 971.

818 Ibid.

819 Ibid., p. 972.

820 Ibid.

821 Ibid., p. 973.

822 Ibid. The city of Bandar Lahri, situated on one of the mouths of the Indus, was the main sea port of the Sind during the period under study. It had, come into existance during the eleventh century and gradually replaced the port of Debal which was situated on open sea. During the early Mughal period the foreign ships remained anchored at the mouth of the rivulet. Only local ships belonging to the port were allowed to pro-

in the court with respect and was given a suitable mansab.[823]

4.3.3.2 Khan-Khanan's Expedition to Sind (1590-91) Based on Masumi

At the time when Khan-Khanan was being sent to conquer Sind and sub-due Balauchs, Mir Mohammad Masum, the author of Tarikh-i-Masumi joined the service of Akbar.[824] Akbar, after knowing that Masum was from Bhakkar gave Darbela, Kakra and Chando parganas of sarkar of Bhakkar to him with the consent of Khan-Khanan who had Bhakkar and Multan in his jagir and sent him to Sind with Khan-Khanan.[825] Mir Masum reached Bhakkar, where Khan-Khanan also came and stayed (see Map 4.30). As it was the season of hot winds and floods all of them stayed there for some days.[826]

From Bhakkar, first Masum was sent with others to Sehwan and after a few days, Khan-Khanan also joined them. People of Sehwan closed themselves into the fort. Khan Khanan called a council to decide what to do. It was resolved that as Sehwan was on the route to Sind and the army and boats would pass through it, it will be better to capture it

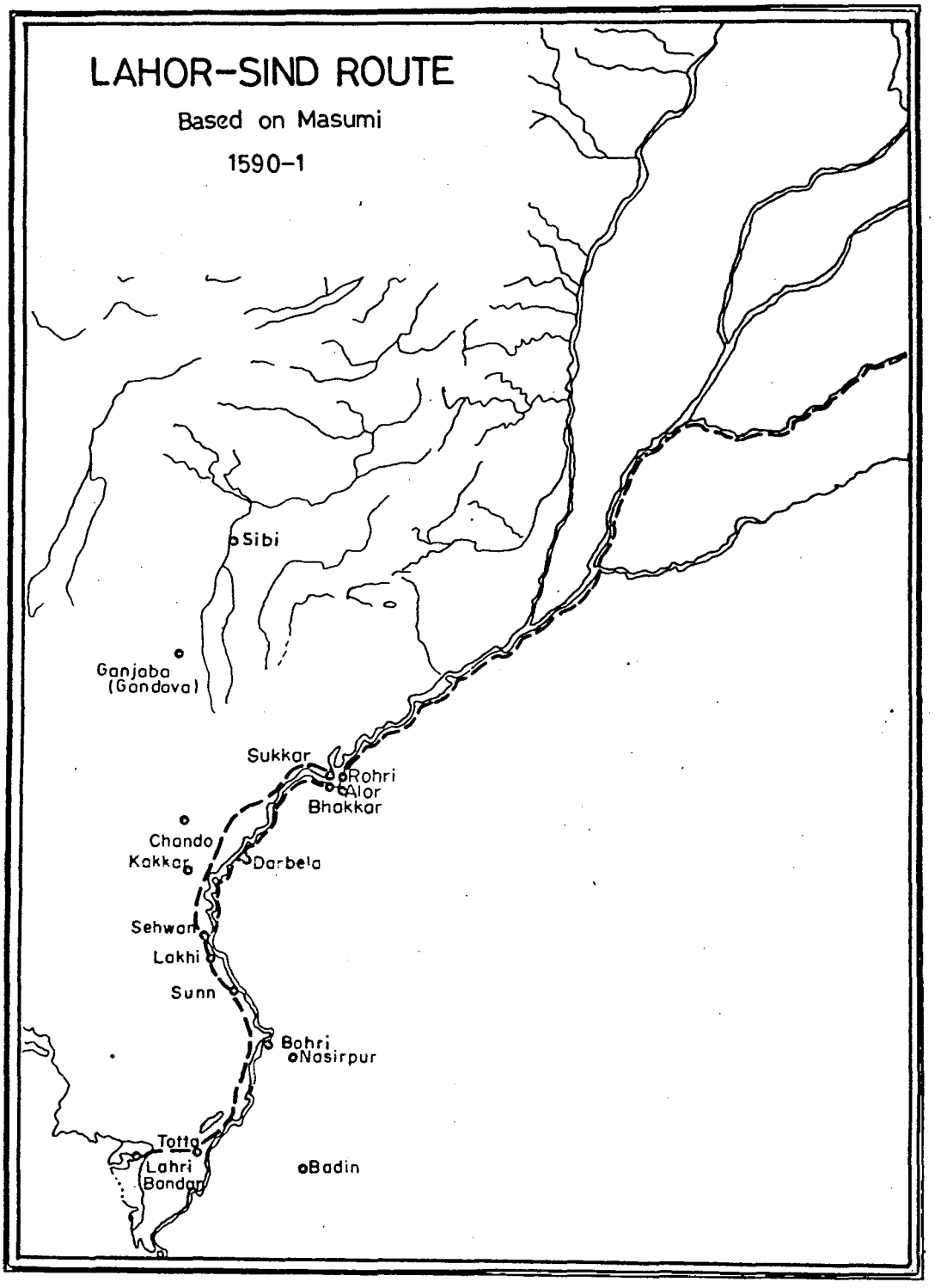
Cont'd.. f.n. 822
ceed to port. (Khan, A.Z., History and Culture of Sind, pp. 270-271).

823 Ibid., p. 979. There is a lot of variation in the contemporary sources about the mansab given to Jani Beg - it was between 3000 - 5000.

824 Mir Mahammad Masum, Tharikh-i-Masumi, Urdu translation by Nabi Bakhsh, p. 346.

825 Ibid., p. 347.

826 Ibid.


LAHOR-SIND ROUTE
Based on Masumi
1590-1
Sibi
Ganjaba
(Gandava)
Sukkar
Rohri
Alor
Bhakkar
Chando
Kakkar
Darbela
Sehwan
Lakhi
Sunn
Bohri
Nasirpur
Totta
Lahri
Bandar
Badin

Map 4.30

first and then to proceed to Sind.[827] But when they started the seige the news came that Jani Beg with a large army was coming from Tatta. They abandoned the seige and moved in the direction of Tatta. Jani Beg on hearing the news of their move, constructed a fort at Bohri,[828] just above Nasarpur, near the river, and stayed there. When Khan-Khanan reached six miles near this fort, Jani Beg despatched hundred to two hundred war boats and numerous other boats, with soldiers to guard both the banks of the Indus.[829] After a bloody battle Jani Beg was defeated.[830]

Next day[831] Khan-Khanan moved towards the fort which Jani Beg built at Bohri but the fort was so strong that Mughal forces were not in a position to capture it. Khan-Khanan, then decided to send forces to different places - Thatta, Sehwan, Badin, Fateh Bagh, Jun and Kakra.[832] Mir Masum and others were sent to beseige the fort of Sehwan

827 Ibid.

828 Masumi, p. 348. As mentioned earlier, from Abul Fazl's discription it seems that fort was built near Nasarpur at an unknown place on the banks of the Indus.

829 AN, III, p. 349.

830 Ibid., p. 350.

831 Ibid. Masumi's statement that Khan Khanan moved towards the fort next day of their victory is some what different from the description of the battle by Abul Fazl, who was critical of Khan-Khanan's delay to move towards the fort after their victory.

832 Ibid., p. 352. The plan was to harass the people in those areas to force Jani Beg to surrender.

when the people in the fort became desperate, they sent a letter to Jani Beg for help. Jani Beg was thus compelled to move in that direction[833] with a large army through the mountain route,[834] and war-boats and cannons through the river Mughal forces came out of Sehwan and fought a major battle with the strong force of Jani Beg south of Lakhi. In this battle the Mughals managed to defeat Jani Beg.[835]

After this defeat, Jani Beg constructed a strong fort, twenty kos away from the battle-field at Andpur.[836] The Mughal army reached there and besieged the fort. Jani Beg became desperate and requested for peace and promised to surrender 30 war-boats and the fort of Sehwan.[837] This request of peace was accepted by Khan-Khanan. Khan Khanan stayed in Sun[838] during the period of floods and in the beginning of winters moved towards Thatta. When they reached near Fateh Bagh, Jani Beg came to welcome them. After that Khan-

833 Ibid. Abul Fazl, did not mention the seige of the fort of Sehwan which forced Jani Beg to move to that direction.

834 Ibid., p. 353. It is significant to note that Jani Beg reached near Kakhi through the mountain route with a large army. The route perhaps was through west of Lakhi Range.

835 Masumi, p. 354.

836 Ibid. It is Ampur of AN. But in all probability it was Unarpur.

837 Ibid.

838 Ibid., p. 355.

Khanan visited Thatta and the port of Lahri Bandar.[839] He then took Jani Beg to the court where Jani Beg was received with honour and was given the mansab of Panj hazari.[840]

4.4 THE ROUTES OF THIRD ORDER

The routes connecting two areas of isolation and passing through an area of isolation would have been the routes of Third Order. The reasons why the route passing throughout the areas of relative isolation may not be considered as the route of third order are slightly complex. The regions which were identified as the areas of relative isolation on the basis of their proximity to the areas of attraction and the main communication lines were not much fertile and productive (otherwise they would have developed as the areas of attraction themselves) and hence had few surpluses to offer for export. Consequently they could not develop strong links with other areas of relative isolation.

The routes connecting two areas of relative isolation and passing through an area of attraction have not been considered in this study as they were generally using the routes of Second Order. For instance route between Kashmir and Sind was the combination of two Second Order routes viz. Kashmir-Lahor and Lahor-Sind routes. So the route between these two regions was the same but the exclusive traffic

839 Ibid., p. 356.

840 Ibid.

(between Sind and Kashmir) was not comperable to either Kashmir-Lahor or Lahor-Sind routes due to obvious economic and political reasons.

Thus in this study, the routes which were passing through the areas of isolation to link two areas of relative isolation with sufficient production (second type of areas of isolation) have been considered as the routes of Third Order. These routes, during the time under study were quite neglected and dangerous to travel. It seems that the powerful Mughal Kings were neither interested nor capable of developing and protecting these routes. The Mughals were interested only in the development, maintenance and protection of more strategic and economically viable routes. It seems they paid little importance to routes of only regional significance. Apart from this, as we have observed, most of the areas of isolation were nominally under the Mughal Empire. The Mughal rule and administration was very week in these areas and so there was no question of the proper maintenance of these routes by the Mughal administration.

Physical problems apart we found that at the height of the Mughal power, the Sind-Gujarat route was full of dangers. This and other routes of regional significance, one can imagine, were not safe for travell by outsiders without the help of regional rulers or sardars.

4.4.1 Sind-Gujarat Route

The inland route between Sind and Gujarat, although

4.4.1 Sind-Gujarat Route

The inland route between Sind and Gujarat, although well known to the people of those regions from earliest times was never much frequented, mainly due to the difficult conditions of travelling on the route, as it was passing through the Rann of Cutch and the Thar desert. Water and food was extremely scarce along the route and travelling was further made difficult due to the extremely high temperatures during the day and terribly cold nights. The route understandably was unpassable during the summers, as it traversed mostly through the desert. During the monsoon season travelling became very difficult due to the marshy lands. However, there are references to show that this route was being used for different functions during the period under study. Even military expeditions were made through this route. For example, Shan Hasan Arghun of Sind had followed this route when he attacked Gujarat.[841] The route was being used by the travellers and merchants but they were usually threatened by Rajput and Baluch tribes, who used to demand passage money from the travellers.[842]

During the period of Early Mughals the route was not only being used by local travellers and merchants but also by foreigners. Some Englishmen had to travel through this route to reach Thatta from Gujarat as Portuguese were con-

841 Khan, p. 178.

842 Ibid.

trolling the sea route between Gujarat and Sind. Anthony Starkey, Steward of the Dragon, had been dispatched by this route to Persia and Aleppo, carrying letters for England. Starkey reached Thatta safely with his Indian attendent and wrote thence in hopeful terms concerning the prospects of trade in Sind. Both, however, died in Thatta shortly after the letters they were carrying fell into the hands of the Portuguese. No account of Starkey's journey is extant.[843]

The descriptions of the Sind-Gujarat route is, however, available in the accounts of Nicholas Withington, who came to India as an attendant of Captain Thomas Best, in September 1612. In December 1613 Withington was called upon to undertake the remarkable journey to Sind via the land route. Since November 1613, the English at Ahmadabad had been hearing reports from caravans coming from the north that a ship had come to Sind and left some Englishmen there. Under the mistaken belief that the Englishmen were some of their own traders and that they were still in Sind the factors decided to send one of their own men to find them.[844]

Withington has left for us a description of the terrible desert journey he endured. It lasted for fifteen days, each day, meant a racking twelve hour ride on camel back in a furnace of "scorching sun and burning sands." There were

843 William Foster, Early Travels in India (1583-1619), 1921, London, pp. 190-191.

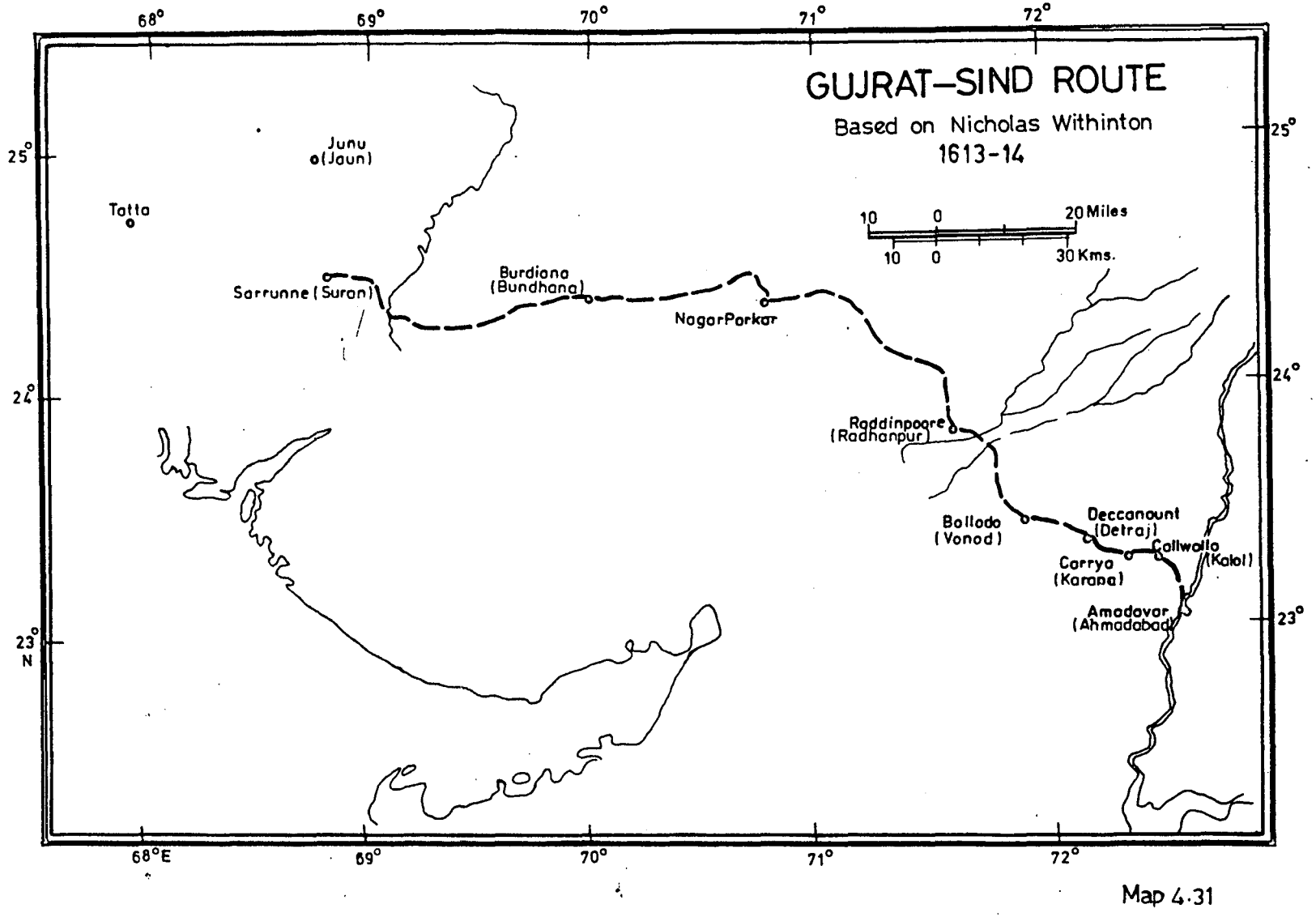
844 R.C. Prasad, Early English Travellers in India, 1965, Delhi, p. 248.

no halting places, the travellers having to pitch their tents in the open, exposed to the severest extremes of heat and cold. No fresh provisions could be obtained, the men ate the food which they had brought with them while the animals nibbled at the small blades of desert grass. Water was so scarce that the fierce thirst of animals was slaked with the supply which the travellers had brought for their use.[845]

Withington, somehow, managed to withstand these physical difficulties and had nearly reached Thatta, when the whole party was seized by a local chief who had undertaken to act as its guide and protector. The Indian merchants were hanged and their property appropriated, while Withington and his attendants escaped the same fate owing to the interest felt by the chief in the adventurous Englishman. They were taken up into the hills, then they were released and sent under escort back to Nagar Parkar. On the way their guardians robbed them afresh and they reached their destination in the greatest misery. Fortunately, he survived to discribe this route and throw some light on the social and economic conditions prevailing in Sind during the reign of Jahangir. (See Map 4.31)

Withington left Ahmedabad on 13th December 1613, with four attendants. Outside the city walls the English party met a large caravan of merchants going to Sind and gladly

845 Ibid., p. 249.


GUJRAT–SIND ROUTE
Based on Nicholas Withinton
1613-14
10 0 20 Miles
10 0 30 Kms.
Junu
(Jaun)
Tatta
Sarrunne (Suran)
Burdiana
(Bundhana)
NagarParkar
Raddinpoore
(Radhanpur)
Bollodo
(Vonod)
Deccanount
(Detraj)
Collwollo
(Kalol)
Carrya
(Karana)
Amadavar
(Ahmadabad)
68°
69°
70°
71°
72°
25°
24°
23°
N
68°E

Map 4.31

joined the travellers.[846] They reached the village of Callwalla[847] on 15th December and departed from there next day. They reached Carrya,[848] 8 kos from Callwalla, and stayed there upto 18th (they were waiting for another caravan, due to the fear of thieves on the route) and reached Deccanaura[849] the same day. On 19th December after travelling 8 kos they reached Bollode[850] a fort under Newlocke Abram,[851] who that day returned from battle, bringing with him 169 heads of the Coblis (Kolis), a thievish caste that live by robbing poor passengers on the highway.[852] They reached Sariandgo[853] fort after travelling 13 kos on 20th December. Next day, after travelling 10 kos they reached Raddinpoore,[854] a big town with a fort and a company of brave soldiers. They

846 Foster, p. 208.

847 Ibid. Possibly it is Kalol of modern maps.

848 Ibid. It is Karana of modern maps. The distance given by Withington is in "course" which was perhaps the incorrect form of kos or coss.

849 Ibid., p. 209. It is perhaps Detraj of the maps.

850 Ibid. It is Vonod of the maps. Location suits the distances given by Withington.

851 Foster, p. 209. He may be referring to Nurullah Ibrahim Kabuli.

852 Ibid.

853 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.

854 Ibid. It is Radhanpur of modern maps.

stayed there for two days to collect provisions for the desert journey as on the way[855] nothing was available - not even fresh water.

On the 23rd they travelled 7 kos and at night stayed in the open fields.[856] They met a caravan robbed of all their belongings from Thatta. On 24th December Withington sent one of his peons to Lawribander with a letter. The peopn promised to complete the job in ten days, but possibly was killed.[857] Next day, they lodged in the fields, by a well of water, but it was so salty that they could not use it.[858] On the 26th also they camped near a well, with salty water. They gave their camels the water which they brought for three day but it was usual for them in their travel.[859] Next day again they stayed in the field.[860]

On the 28th, they reached Negar Parkar,[861] a poor town, yet with good store of provisions for travellers. They stayed in the town, (which used to pay yearly tribute to the

855 Ibid.

856 Ibid.

857 Ibid.

858 Ibid.

859 Ibid.

860 Ibid.

861 Foster, p. 209. The correct spelling is Nagar Parkar.

Mughals)[862] for one day to refresh themselves. They paid toll for their camels before leaving the town. According to Withington the inhabitants of the region between Nagar Parkar and Juno, which is half a days journey from Thatta, used to pay no revenue and acknowledged no king but themselves robbing and sparing whom they liked. At the time of the arrival of the Mughal army they used to burn their homes and hide into the mountains. They used to guard passengers, after taking from them what they pleased, and deported them to the border of their territories.[863]

They travelled 6 kos and lay by a tank or pond of fresh water.[864] On the 31st they travelled 8 kos and lay in the fields by a brackish well.[865] On the first of January 1614 after travelling 10 kos they reached Burdiano.[866] Here they paid custom for their goods and stayed for one day as many of them fell sick by drinking the brackish water.[867] They had to carry that water on their camels for four days journey as there was no water available on the route.[868] They travel-

862 Foster, p. 210.

863 Ibid.

864 Ibid.

865 Ibid.

866 Ibid. It is Bundhana of the modern maps.

867 Ibid.

868 Ibid.

led the whole night and covered a distance of 18 kos.[869] On the 3rd January, they travelled till mid-night and covered 10 kos.[870] Next day they covered 12 kos and here Withington fell sick and vomitted, because of infected water.[871] On the 5th, after travelling 7 kos, they reached a place with three wells, two with saltish water and one with sweet.[872] Next day they reached Nuraguimire,[873] a petty town, 10 kos from the last place.

At Nuraguimire, the caravan which joined them at Raddingpoore, departed. There were left, two merchants, Withington, nine servants, and seventeen camels.[874] This town was within three days journey from Thatta. They employed one escort to conduct them to Thatta. On 8th January they travelled 10 kos and reached Gundajaw, a little town full of robbers.[875] From this place they somehow escaped by bribing the robbers and reached Sarrunne,[876] a great town of the Rasbooches with a castle in it, some 14 course from Thatta.[877]

869 Ibid.

870 Ibid.

871 Ibid.

872 Ibid.

873 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.

874 Ibid.

875 Ibid., p. 211. It is not possible to locate this place.

876 Ibid. It is Sirani of maps. Rasbooches may be Rajputs (or Raj bachas).

877 Ibid. It is coss as referred to earlier.

At this place he met a Bania, who arrived the same day from Thatta and informed Withington that there were no English traders in Sind. The merchants who had come to Lahri Bunder with Sir Robert Sherley had soon left and continued on their way to Sumatra. The only Englishmen now in Sind were Shorley and his retinue.[878] Although the Bania's story deprived Withington of his chief reason for proceeding with his journey, the English factor resolved to go on to Thatta without further delay. The Bania, however, warned him that though Thatta was only two days journey from Sarrunne (Sirani) the way was very dangerous. He strongly advised Withington to provide himself with suitable escort. In these circumstances, Withington appealed to the Raja of Sarrunne. The Raja agreed to go with him in person along with fifty of his horsemen.[879]

On 11th January 1614, they started for the last stage of their journey and encamped by the river-side that night. But in the morning instead of crossing the river they moved along the river about a mile and a half which led them into a dense thicket at the foot of a hill.[880] There the merchants were killed and their belongings were taken by the Raja and his men. Withington however, was spared as the Raja had developed some liking for him.[881] Withington was not allowed

878 Prasad, p. 25; Foster, p. 212.

879 Prasad, p. 250; Foster, p. 212.

880 Foster, p. 213.

881 Ibid.

to proceed towards Thatta but was sent under a strong escort to the Raja's brother, who lived in a mountain fortress some miles away.[882] After being detained for over a month, here, he was dispatched to another Raja, who after a long detention, sent him on to Nagar Parkar under escort. Half way to their destination, the escort robbed Withington and his servants and left them stranded in the desert after stripping them of every thing. After a night march journey through the desert Withington fought his way to Parkar, whence a friendly Bania helped him to reach Ahmadabad.[883]

This account of Withington, throws much light on the travel conditions through the desert (a negative region without any resources), where the Mughal rule was for the name sake only. It is understandable that like the Pathan tribal areas these negative regions were not really subjugated by the Mughal forces and were ruled over by their tribal chief who were forced by circumstance to earn their livelihood by looting the travellers.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

After identifying, plotting and describing all the major routes (mentioned in the contemporary sources) which connected the surrounding territories with North-West India

882 Ibid., p. 214.

883 Ibid.

and linked various regions of North West India with one another it is possible to make the following observations:

i) The routes connecting, Kabul and Qandahar with the surrounding territories, like Khurasan, Persia, Balkh, Farghana and Badakhsan were well-known to the contemporary travellers and the rulers. These, mountainous routes, in most cases were quite arduous to travel but remained quite frequented even during the times of political uncertainty as they were handling almost all the foreign inland trade from India. The main routes apart, there were many alternative routes through Hindu Kush mountains, which were being used depending not only on the destination but also on the circumstances and the season of the travel. During this long and politically uncertain period it was found that these routes were used for various purposes and remained strategically significant throughout the period under study. These natural mountainous routes, it seems were neither heavily guarded nor were properly maintained as they did not lie in the territory of one ruler.

ii) The Delhi/Agra-Lahor-Kabul route during the period under study emerged as the most important route connecting almost all the areas of attraction of North West India. The Khaibar pass which was never used by the earlier invaders to reach India became the chief pass on the route. The bridge constructed over the Indus, near Attock, provided the required permanency to the Khaibar Pass route. The near subjugation of the Pathan tribal groups of Peshawar

and Khaibar regions made the Attock-Kabul sector of the route quite safe for travellers. The Mughals also made a lot of efforts to make the road between Attock and Kabul suitable for even wheeled traffic. The route between Delhi/Agra and Attock remained not well established since it passed through the plain and plateau regions. However, there was a good road between Agra/Delhi and Lahor, which developed as the second most important city of the India. The significance of Lahor was further enhanced by the fact that it was connected directly with all the regions of North-West India e.g. Kabul, Qandahar, Sind and Kashmir. It seems that Lahor-Attock sector of the route developed quite significantly during the stay of Akbar and Jahangir in the city. The emergence of Lahor saw the fall in the relative significance of Multan town and Multan-Qandahar route. With the spatio-temporal study of the route, it is also possible to note that Lahor was generally avoided by the kings travelling between Kabul and Delhi/Agra. At times the reasons for this were political but generally it was avoided due to the fact that the direct route was not only shorter but crossed the Punjab river in their upper reaches where they were easily fordable. However the route between Lahor and Attock wasalso well established and well maintained.

iii) The Multan-Qandahar route, which was perhaps more important than even the Kabul-Lahor route, during the early medieval period, lost its significance mainly due to

uncertain political conditions of Qandahar during the period when Mughals, Uzbeks and Persians were fighting to establish their supremacy over one another. Moreover, as the alternative Lahor-Kabul route had been developed and was being maintained properly, travellers and traders must have preferred that over the Multan-Qandahar route which was passing through the negative and rugged terrain.

iv) The Kabul-Qandahar route, was in a way the extension of Delhi-Lahor-Kabul route. This route was connecting the remaining important regions of North-West India i.e., Ghazni and Qandahar. This route was perhaps one of the best possible for travellers passing through a mountainous or hilly region. This route was being used by the travellers moving between Kabul and Iran and Khurasan. It was one of the most frequented routes of North West India.

v) After the conquest of Kashmir, the Pir Panjal route was developed by Akbar and Jahangir as an Imperial road, connecting Lahor with the beautiful valley of Kashmir. It was observed that due to the personal interest of Jahangir in Kashmir and his frequent visits to the valley, the route was being maintained by the Mughal administrators and engineers quite efficiently. The route, due to the high altitude of the Pir Panjal pass was not passable during the winter season, hence, the Jhelum gorge route, which was low lying, was also developed as an alternative route to Kashmir. The Jhelum gorge route, however, was

the shortest route to connect the sarkar of Kashmir with its suba capital Kabul. It was observed that in the absence of proper techniques and materials of road building, these mountainous routes were always in need of répairs.

vi) There were many possible land routes between the plains of Punjab and Sind. But it seems that the routes along the Indus and its tributaries were more frequented than the others due to obvious reasons. However, it was observed that overland routes in Sind were not suitable for the movement of heavy cargo due to number of reasons and it was mostly sent through the river route. Within the Sind region, bulk of the goods, were transported through boats or nearly. The same was true of the traffic between the Punjab and the Sind. The distance between Lahor and Thatta was being covered in 12 to 18 days. However, the journey upward was slow and more expensive than the down ward journey.

vii) The well established, though difficult, route between Thatta and Qandahar has been referred to in many contemporary sources but unfortunately no detailed description of the route was found in any one of them. Thus instead of making a separate route map, the route has been shown in the general route map. However, it was observed that during the period under study the route was under constant use.

viii) It was found that the route between Sind and Gujarat was well known but it was full of dangers. The route was being used by the local tribes quite often. How-

ever, for the purpose of trade this route was not very commonly used by outside traders. The travel on this route was made difficult not only by the desert but also by the desert tribal groups. The route, it is observed was neither maintained nor guarded by the Mughal administrators who had little influence over the tribal groups living in the desert.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

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In this study an attempt has been made to analyse the Inter-Regional linkages in North West India during the period of the Early Mughals. This has been done by identifying and understanding the physical, cultural and political-administrative regions of North West India during the period under study. The influence and impact of various factors in determining regional linkages have also been assessed. For this, economic, political and socio-cultural bases of the regional linkages have been discussed. The impact of physical and technological factors on the regional linkages has also been analysed. An attempt has also been made to identify, plot and critically describe all available travel accounts of the period in order to understand the spatio-temporal variation in the routes of North West India during the period of the Early Mughals. For this all possible contemporary sources with relevant accounts of routes connecting different regions were consulted and used to reconstruct the changing route-maps of North West India during the period of the Early Mughals. On the basis of this analysis the following conclusions emerge:

1. North West India, apart from the Qandahar region, which remained with the Mughals for a brief period of time, consisted of the Indus river basin. Due to the significant

physical variations within the Indus basin, it was divided into four major physiographic divisions. It was found that the Northern Mountain Complex, one of the most rugged regions of the world, with inhospitable climatic conditions, was not suitable either for agriculture or for any other economic activity and thus was extremely sparsely populated, the only exceptions being the beautiful valley of Kashmir. The Kabul river basin, though generally hilly with rugged topogfaphy, had some beautiful river valleys with pleasant climate, productive soil suitable for agriculture and fruit production and for human settlement. The sub-montane Indus region with Baluchistan ranges was a complex region with innumerable hills, broad river plains, Patwar Plateau and Salt Range. Apart from Bannu and Kohat plains, and Potwar Plateau the whole region was extremely rugged and unproductive. Of the two plains of Indus, the Upper Indus Plain (Punjab) was far more productive than the Lower Indus Plain (Sind) due to the nature of soil and water supply. The Punjab region was not only the most productive region of North West India, but was among the most properous in the whole country. In the Hilmand-Arghandab river basin Qandahar and Ghazni regions were the areas with suitable physical conditions for agriculture and fruit production, the other areas were either hilly or desertic.

2. While identifying and describing the broad cultural regions of the North West India, it was found that the impact

of physical factors in the evolution of the society and culture of the region had been very significant. The areas with productive soils, suitable climatic conditions, easy accessability, remained more dynamic and were occupied by the people belonging to different ethnic origins while the areas with rugged terrain, infertile soil, extreme climatic conditions, were occupied by a single tribal group who preferred or were forced to live in isolation. In between these two extreme types of regions there were some areas, which had a unique mixture of the older and the new dynamic cultures. It was found that during the period of the Early Mughals, the fertile Punjab plains (except for the Sind Sagar Doab), the Valley of Peshawar, the Jalalabad region, the Kabul region, the Ghazni and Qandahar regions, were economically developed and culturally most dynamic, and so have been identified in this study as the areas of attraction. The regions lying close to the areas of attraction, with not so suitable physical conditions e.g. the Punjab hills, the hills of the Peshawar, the Jalalabad and Kabul regions and the valley of the Tarnak river and other tributaries of the Hilmand closer to Qandahar became the areas of relative isolation because of their proximity to the nuclear regions. The valley of Kashmir and the Sind region were also identified as the areas of relative isolation as they were lying away from the main communication lines, though otherwise they were quite suitable for agriculture and economic development. Most of the remaining region,

consisting of the Northern Mountain Complex, the Sub-montane Indus and Baluchistan region and the rugged and inaccessable regions of the Kabul Basin, have been identified as the area of isolation. This whole area was found to be occupied by different tribal groups living in varying degrees of idolation and without a sound economic base.

3. After the reconstruction of the politico-administrative map of North West India on the basis of Ain-i-Akbari and other contemporary sources, it was found that the politico-administrative divisions were formed on the basis of physical and cultural traits. It was found that the regions which were suitable for settled agriculture and other economic activities and were identified in this study as the areas of attraction also became politically significant. This was the main reasons why the major towns/cities of the areas of attraction emerged as either the suba or sarkar headquarters dependending upon political and strategic considerations. The important towns in the areas of relative isolation generally attained the status of sarkar headquarters. Kabul, the most important city, west of Indus, became the suba headquarter, while Qandahar could attain the status of the sarkar headquarter. The other sarkar headquarters of the suba of Kabul were also important towns in their respective areas of relative isolation. Kabul and Multan, the most important cities of the Punjab region became suba headquarters although both lay very close to each other. This can be attributed to the economic prosperity of the region.

4. Finally on the basis of super-imposition of the physical, cultural and politico-administrative division of the region it has been found that the physical regions, directly and indirectly influenced the formation of cultural regions and in the cultural analysis were responsible in the emergence of the political-administrative divisions. The reverse process has been found to be true. Because of political imperatives few regions became prominent without a sound economic base within this region. The best example is that of Ghazni, which was not really a region with any genuine qualities of an area of attraction but due to the fact that it became the seat of power for the powerful kings, the town and the region of Ghazni was developed by the resources looted or collected from outside. However the inter-relationship and inter-dependence between the physical, economic, social and political phenomena in this region is quite apparent.

5. The regions suitable for settled agriculture with a sound and strong economic base, were the most economically prosperous regions of North West India during the period of Early Mughals. In these areas not only agricultural production was more but they were the producers of some of the most important industrial goods. The suba of Lahor, for instance was not only producing wheat, millet, cotton, indigo, sugarcane, poppy etc. in large quantities but was also a leading producer of cotton textile, silk products, chikan work and metal industries. The Multan region (which posses-

sed fertile lands in lesser abundance than Lahor) was producing wheat, millet, cotton, indigo, sugarcane and poppy and had been famous for its cotton textiles. The Thatta region, which was attached to the suba of Multan, was producing poppy and shali rice in large quantities. It was also famous for its cotton textiles and silk products. The Kabul region due to its limited productive lands was producing very little of foodgrains like small black coloured wheat. However to compensate this it, was producing fruits in large quantities. It was also famous for its woollens which were in great demand. Qandahar was producing foodgrains in a very limited quantity due to lack of fertile lands suitable for the production of foodgrains but it was producing fruits in large quantities. The valley of Kashmir, with fertile soil, and ecellent climate was producing rice in large quantity. Kashmir region was also the chief producer of safforn and mulbery. The fruits of Kashmir were in great demand in different parts of the country. Kashmir, due to the encouragement of the Mughal Kings, was able to increase the production of its woollen, shawls, silk industry, wood and ivory work. The chief towns/cities of these regions became the major centres of the trade and commerce during the period under study.

6. While discussing the significant political developments of the period, it became apparent that North West India, which remained in a politically fluid condition during the first three quarters of sixteenth century, got stablized

during the second half of the Akbar's reign. Akbar was well aware of the strategic location of the region and tried to strengthen the Mughal defence by annexing Kabul in 1585, Kashmir in 1589, Sind in 1591 and Qandahar and Baluchistan in 1595 to the Mughal Empire. The political stability provided by Akbar and Jahangir helped in the development of inter-regional linkages in North West India and with the surrounding regions.

7. It was found that there came a qualitative change in the socio-cultural atmosphere of the country during the period of the Early Mughals. The socio-cultural synthesis of the various communities living in the country was the result of Akbar's deeprooted secular policies which united the Hindus and Muslims of the country. His benevolent attitude towards his opponents and parental love towards his subjects without distinction of sect and creed, developed confidence among different communities. Jahangir also followed the same policy with success. Hence, the conditions for socio-cultural inter-action among the people belonging to different regions, religious, linguistic groups, castes and creeds etc., were perfect during the later half of the period under study. This obviously provided a significant boost to the strength of the inter-regional linkages in the country in general and the region in particular.

8. While discussing the physical determinents of regional linkages, it was observed that in the mountainous regions

the passes had played a dessive role in providing natural passages connecting two regions. After identifying, plotting and describing the known passes of the region it became apparent that there was a significant shift in the relative importance and frequency of use of the passes during the period under study. For instance the passes through the Sulaiman ranges which were used very frequently during the early medieval period lost their significance during the period under study.

9. The location and role of river fords has also been established as it was found that the journies were always made through the plains of Indus keeping in mind the season of the travel. All the travellers, in the absence of the bridges over the major rivers of Punjab were quite conscious of the unfordable nature of these rivers during the rainy seasons. Thus in the plain regions of Punjab and Sind river fords invariably determined human movement and thus the regional linkages in the final analysis.

10. While discussing the technological determinents, it was found that during the period of the Early Mughals the technology of construction of permanent bridges over the major rivers was not developed. Semi-permanent wooden bridges, however, were made on some of the major rivers of Punjab during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, after the consolidation of Mughal power in the country. This is a pointer to the fact that it was not only a question of lack of technological know-how of bridge making but perhaps the

earlier kings were not really interested in opening the gates of India to outsiders, by making the bridges, when the North West was not in their control. Even during the times of Akbar and Jahangir the temporary boat-bridges were being constructed at the time of the crossing of the river. The technique of making pantoons was perfected by Akbar who took personal interest in their making.

11. Road-building and other similar activities were well planned and supervised by a public works department under the Mughals. Important roads and high ways were well maintained but lesser routes were repaired only before the march of the emperor. As the emperors did not always follow well known routes, new roads and routes were built and connected to existing roads. Mughal technicians and road builders, though did their best to over come the physical obstruction posed by the hilly nature of the North West India, but, in the absence of the scientific knowledge of the road building of proper material and tools, their methods changed little from the times of the Delhi Sultans.

12. It was also observed that the means of transport played a very significant role in determining the extent and volume of traffic on land. The use of carts, though was very common, but due to unbridged rivers in the plain regions and the rugged terrain in the hilly regions, was limited to short distance travels. Bulk of long distance traffic was moved by means of pack animals - elephants, camels, horses, bullocks and mules. During the rainy season in the plain

areas of Punjab and Sind, when roads and routes were inundated or even washed away, travel by boats along the rivers was the only convenient means of transport. The region of Sind was closely connected with Punjab through the Indus and its tributaries. The town of Lahor, located on the bank of the Ravi, was linked by the rivers of the Indus system with Kashmir and Multan and further down with Bhakkar/ Sukkar and Thatta.

13. The routes connecting Kabul and Qandahar with the surrounding territories, like Khurasan, Persia, Balkh, Farghana and Badakhsan were well known to the contemporary travellers and the rulers. These, mountainous routes, in most cases were quite arduous to travel but remained quite frequented even during the times of political uncertainty as they were handling almost all the foreign inland trade from India. The main routes apart, there were many alternative routes through Hindu Kush mountains, which were being used depending not only on the destination but also on the circumstances and the season of the travel. During this long and politically undertain period it was found that these routes were used for various purposes and remained strategically significant throughout the period under study. These natural mountainous routes, it seems were neither heavily guarded nor were properly maintained as they did not lie in the territory of one ruler.

14. The Delhi/Agra-Lahor-Kabul route during the period

under study emerged as the most important route connecting almost all the areas of attraction of North West India. The Khaibar pass which was never used by the earlier invaders to reach India became the chief pass on the route. The bridge constructed over the Indus, near Attock, provided the required permanency to the Khaibar pass route. The near subjugation of the Pathan tribal groups of Peshawar and Khaibar regions made the Attock-Kabul sector of the route quite safe for travellers. The Mughals also made a lot of efforts to make the road between Attock and Kabul suitable for even wheeled traffic. The route between Delhi/Agra and Attock remained not well established since it passed through the plain and plateau regions. However, there was a good road between Agra/Delhi and Lahor, which developed as the second most important city of the India. The significance of Lahor was further enhanced by the fact that it was connected directly with all the regions of North West India e.g. Kabul, Qandahar, Sind and Kashmir. It seems that Lahor-Attock sector of the route developed quite significantly during the stay of Akbar and Jahangir in the city. The emergence of Lahor saw the fall in the relative significance of Multan town and Multan-Qandahar route. With the spatio-temporal study of the route, it is also possible to note that Lahor was generally avoided by the kings travelling between Kabul and Delhi/Agra. At times the reasons for this were political but generally it was avoided due to the fact that the direct

route was not only shorter but crossed the Punjab river in their upper reaches where they were easily fordable. However the route between Lahor and Attock was also well established and well maintained.

15. The Multan-Qandahar route, which was perhaps more important than even the Kabul-Lahor route, during the early medieval period, lost its significance mainly due to uncertain political conditions of Qandahar during the period when Mughals, Uzbeks and Persians were fighting to establish their supermacy over one another. Moreover, as the alternative Lahor-Kabul route had been developed and was being maintained properly, travellers and traders must have preferred that over the Multan-Qandahar route which was passing through the negative and rugged terrain.

16. The Kabul-Qandahar route, was in a way the extention of Delhi-Lahor-Kabul route. This route was connecting the remaining important regions of North West India i.e. Ghazni and Qandahar. This route was perhaps one of the best possible for travellers passing through a mountainous or hilly region. This route was being used by the travellers moving between Kabul and Iran and Khurasan. It was one of the most frequented routes of North West India.

17. After the conquest of Kashmir, the Pir Panjal route was developed by Akbar and Jahangir as an imperial road, connecting Lahor with the beautiful valley of Kashmir. It was observed that due to the personal interest of Jahangir in Kashmir and his frequent visits to the valley, the route

was being maintained by the Mughal administrators and engineers quite efficiently. The route, due to the high altitude of the Pir Panjal pass was not passable during the winter season, hence, the Jhelum gorge route, which was low lying, was also developed as an alternative route to Kashmir. The Jhelum gorge route, however, was the shortest route to connect the sarkar of Kashmir with its suba capital Kabul. It was observed that in the absence of proper techniques and materials of road building, these mountainous routes were always in need of repairs.

18. There were many possible land routes between the plains of Punjab and Sind. But it seems that the routes along the Indus and its tributaries were more frequented than the others due to obvious reasons. However, it was observed that overland routes in Sind were not suitable for the movement of heavy cargo due to number of reasons and it was mostly sent through the river route. Within the Sind region, bulk of the goods, were transported through boats for nearly eight months of the year. The same was true of the traffic between the Punjab and the Sind. The distance between Lahor and Thatta was being covered in 12 to 18 days. However, the journey upward was slow and more expressive than the down ward journey.

19. The well established, though difficult, route between Thatta and Qandahar has been referred to in many contemporary sources but unfortunately no detailed description of the

route was found in any one of them. Thus instead of making a separate route map, the route has been shown in the general route map. However, it was observed that during the period under study the route was under constant use.

20. It was found that the route between Sind and Gujarat was well known but it was full of dangers. The route was being used by the local tribes quite often. However, for the purpose of trade this route was not very commonly used by outside traders. The travel on this route was made difficult not only by the desert but also by the desert tribal groups. The route, it is observed was neither maintained nor guarded by the Mughal administraters who had little influence over the tribal groups living in the desert.

One may conclude from this study that during the period of the Early Mughals, due to political stability, relative economic prosperity, social integration and technological advancement, strong inter-regional links developed within North West India and also with its surrounding territories. Many routes were developed, maintained and guarded to fulfil the requirements of the regions and the empire. The establishment of new routes and repair and maintenance of already existing routes, not only helped in strengthening the already developed regional linkages but also facilitated in spreading the influence of the Mughal Empire to some new territories and regions. It is regretted that due to the vastness of the area under investigation the study could not throw sufficient light on the intra-regional linkages, with

in various regions of North West India. It would hence be worth while if, intra regional linkages within various regions of North West India are analysed with the help of local and regional histories. These studies, combined with the present study will certainly provide a comprehensive insight and understanding into the regional linkages of North West India. It may also be suggested that the inter-regional linkages of other regions of India during the period of the Early Mughals should also be studied to get an overall picture of the Mughal, society, economy and polity.

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